Y4. J 89/2: Ln 8/19/pt. 2

# THE NATIONWIDE DRIVE AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

**PART 2**

JULY 11, 1975

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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## RESOLUTION

*Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary*, That the testimony of James M. Rochford, Mitchell Ware, Eugene Dorneker, Adelle Noren, and David Cushing, taken in executive session on July 11, 1975, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman.*

Approved: December 1, 1975.

# CONTENTS


| Testimony of: | Page |
|---|---|
| James M. Rochford, Superintendent, Chicago Police Department | 45 |
| Mitchell Ware, Deputy Superintendent, Chicago Police Department | 52 |
| Eugene Dorneker, Investigator, Chicago Police Department | 57 |
| Adelle Noren, Housewife, Chicago, Ill | 106 |
| David Cushing, Police Officer, Chicago Police Department | 131 |
| Appendix | 143 |

# THE NATIONWIDE DRIVE AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1975

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Present: Senators Thurmond and Scott of Virginia.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; A. L. Tarabochia, chief investigator; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and David Martin, senior analyst.

Senator THURMOND. Will all the witnesses stand, and raise your right hand. Do you swear that the evidence you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROCHFORD. I do.

Mr. WARE. I do.

Mr. DORNEKER. I do.

Mrs. NOREN. I do.

Mr. CUSHING. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. For the purposes of the record I want to get you identified. Mr. Rochford, would you give us your full name and your address, please?

Mr. ROCHFORD. James M. Rochford. I am superintendent of police, city of Chicago. I reside at 6881 North Tonty Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Ware?

Mr. WARE. My name is Mitchell Ware. I am deputy superintendent of the Chicago police in charge of the Bureau of Inspectional Services. I live in Chicago at 2815 South Michigan Avenue.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Cushing?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes. My name is David Cushing. I am a patrolman with the Chicago Police Department. My home residence is 1645 West 100 Place, Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Dorneker?

Mr. DORNEKER. My name is Eugene F. Dorneker. I am an investigator with the Intelligence Division, Chicago Police Department. I live at 10300 South Homen Avenue, Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mrs. Noren?

Mrs. NOREN. I am Adelle Noren, 11225 South Oakley, Chicago. I am a housewife.

Mr. SOURWINE. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we begin with the statement from counsel from the committee, and then permit a brief word from the attorney for the Chicago Police Department, who is not here as a witness, but who is here as counsel for the superintendent; and then pass the ball to the superintendent and go on.

Senator THURMOND. That's all right. I have an opening statement here I will make at this time.

First I want to express my appreciation on behalf of the subcommittee for your coming here today; we appreciate your cooperation.

For some time now, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been receiving evidence of a concerted national drive by left wing organizations—the Communist Party, the Maoists, the Trotskyists, and others—designed to inactivate or destroy police intelligence files on extremists across the country and to put an end to all such activities. This is the first of a series of hearings which the subcommittee plans for the purpose of looking into this situation.

The drive against police intelligence activities involves the harassment and intimidation of police departments through legal suits, supported by a propaganda campaign and mass demonstrations. What the drive is designed to accomplish was frankly spelled out in a flier put out by the District of Columbia Committee for the Bill of Rights advertising a recent meeting at Georgetown University in Washington. The sponsorship of the meeting included organizations like the National Lawyers Guild and the Socialist Workers Party. Among other things, they asked that all District of Columbia police intelligences files be opened up to the affected citizens and groups and that "the District of Columbia City Council outlaw and punish all spying and provocation activities."

The subcommittee is concerned about maintaining effective police intelligence at the local level because this is essential to the internal security of our Nation. Under the best of circumstances, the FBI could never do the job nationwide of assembling adequate intelligence files on all extremist groups and individuals who pose a threat to our security. The FBI has had to have a cooperative working arrangement with police intelligence units in all of our major cities. Such a cooperative arrangement is far more necessary today than it has been in the past because in recent years there has been a proliferation of extremist groups and grouplets, many of them operating only in certain cities or areas.

In embarking on this investigation, the subcommittee does not mean to imply a blanket defense of all police intelligence activities. Every responsible police official is prepared to concede that there have been abuses in the field of police intelligence by overzealous officers, sometimes opreating with inadequate guidelines. Every effort should be made to eliminate such abuses and to develop adequate guidelines. But this is altogether different from the drive to totally paralyze or abolish intelligence gathering activities which we are currently witnessing in our country.

In 1961, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee took testimony from Lyman B. Kirkpatrick on the worldwide Communist drive to discredit and paralyze the police forces in all free countries. To be properly understood, the current left wing drive against police intelligence must be viewed in this broader context.

We are privileged to have with us today Superintendent James M. Rochford of the Chicago Police Department, who has come here under subpena, and who, we hope, will be able to throw some light on the situation in his own city. We also have several other witnesses who will be able to round out the picture from different vantage points.

Superintendent Rochford, I want to thank you for coming here, and I also want to thank the other witnesses for coming here today.

Now, as I understand it, you are the head man in the police department of Chicago, is that right?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. You are the top man.

Mr. ROCHFORD. Yes, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. All right, we will proceed, now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, counsel for the police department is present. His capacity here today is as counsel for the Superintendent.

The committee, as the Chair knows, is aware of the fact that there is a grand jury proceeding in Chicago which involves the police department in certain aspects. There is also a civil action in the courts up there, involving the police department. The committee does not desire to do anything to compromise the grand jury proceedings, or to interfere in any way with the civil proceeding.

I would ask that the Chair indulge Mr. Dart, the counsel for the Commissioner, while he gives us a brief statement for the record of the situation as it exists. I don't mean in detail, sir, just the legalities of the matter.

Mr. DART. Thank you, Counsel.

Mr. Chairman, I would just advise the chairman and the committee that an order was entered in the Federal district court, Northern District of Illinois, called a "protective order," requiring the Chicago Police Department to submit certain intelligence documents to a magistrate in the court, in original form and extricated form. The magistrate then will determine whether or not the extricated form is acceptable, and then it will be returned to the judge of the court and given to the plaintiff for discovery purposes.

The reason I advise the chairman and the committee of this is that we wish to guard the confidentiality of the records, of the informants, possible informants, interested persons, and the constitutional rights of all other individuals.

I would also advise the chairman that the subpena called for all of our records. We have voluminous records, and it is physically impossible to bring copies of all the records here today. I have with me two extricated packets which we intend to submit to the magistrate. I will turn them over to the committee today, and will ask counsel to stipulate that we be permitted to send additional records to the committee as we turn them over to the court, simultaneously.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully submit that counsel cannot stipulate in any way binding the committee without the action of the committee.

I think Mr. Dart and the witnesses should know that while this is an executive session, and confidentiality will be preserved unless the committee orders otherwise, this committee cannot bind its subsequent action. There might be a change in membership, and the committee will have the right to open this record, or any portion of it for the public.

We haven't had any complaints about premature publication in 20-odd years of activity, but this is a technical situation you are entitled to know about.

As to the stipulation, I don't believe this committee should waive any of its rights to this material. I am confident that the Chicago Police Department will do its very best to comply as speedily as it can. But I don't believe the committee should agree, or purport to bind itself, even temporarily, or to waive any of its rights. The committee has the right to this material. The committee need not be subjugated to the court. The committee's right stems from its own independent power as a coordinate branch of the Government of the United States.

And while I don't think there will ever be any quarrel between the committee and the Chicago Police Department about compliance to this subpena, I think a stipulation such as suggested by counsel would be a very bad precedent and much to be frowned on by the Senate.

Unless counsel wishes to press the point, I am satisfied with that statement for the record.

Mr. DART. Mr. Chairman, at this time I would submit the two packets—Exhibits 1 and 2—and turn them over to the committee at this time. As counsel stated, we will certainly try to conform with the request of the committee and submit additional records as we can.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just as a matter of technicality, why don't you lay them over in front of the Superintendent, we will let the Superintendent offer them. He is a witness here, and technically counsel is not.

[At this point Mr. Dart gave the packets to Mr. Rochford, who handed them to Senator Thurmond.]

Senator THURMOND. They will be received and retained in the files of the subcommittee.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think we should perhaps have one more, or two more questions. In what court is this proceeding?

Mr. DART. In the northern district of Illinois, the Federal district court.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Federal District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

Mr. DART. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of counsel.

Mr. DART. I have one further thing, counsel, that I wish to request of the committee, and that would be that we be permitted to examine the record when the record is completed, before it be made public, in order that we might, again, examine it for any errors and any possible need for deletion of the names of persons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I state for the record, responsive to counsel's request, that of course in accordance with committee procedure and witnesses will have an opportunity to examine their testimony and correct it as soon as possible after the transcript is available to this committee.

The request made by counsel suggested deletion, or changes of substance they feel are necessary to make the testimony read true. On the other hand, it is the committee which has the authority to permit a deletion, and ordinarily wide latitude is granted to a witness because the effort is to make the testimony wholly his and wholly true. But——

Senator THURMOND. Especially if there are informants involved whose lives might be jeopardized.

Mr. SOURWINE. The chairman has touched on a very important point. The committee has no desire to probe into who are the informants of the Chicago Police Department, and I will try to avoid asking any such questions. I presume the witnesses will be well enough informed that if we touch on an area like that, they can warn us, and then the chairman can rule on it.

Senator THURMOND. Well, this is very much like the FBI informants, if you reveal an informant, then you jeopardize not only the informant, but you jeopardize the FBI getting informants to help them in the future; I imagine this is the same way. So, I am sure steps will have to be taken to protect the informants.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the same is true with regard to particular information that is revealed because of the fact that revealing certain information will reveal the informant. He will know he was the only person who provided the information.

Senator THURMOND. All right, with that information available, I guess we are ready now to proceed with the testimony.

Mr. DART. I have nothing further.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Rochford?

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. ROCHFORD

Mr. ROCHFORD. Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to come before this subcommittee and to contribute anything to the U.S. Government in any way that we can.

Mr. SOURWINE. We would like to have you lay out the situation with which you are faced, the committee knows it generally, the Chair has painted the picture. Now, you tell us about it in particular, what are you up against?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Well, as I said before, the Chicago Police Department welcomes any official review, investigation, or criticism of our operations because we continually struggle to improve our efficiency and our professionalism.

Recently the public has been badly misinformed about our operation. We take pride in our law enforcement record. Chicago is one of the few major urban areas which has not been victimized by terrorist activities, such as bombings, arsons, and riots until a few weeks ago when two bombs were exploded in our downtown section; and I am optimistic that we will solve that crime.

We have been able to control and cope with potential disruptions and potential mob violence which could cause great harm to our city and harm to our property.

The public should be relieved to know that they have been somewhat free from terrorist activities and harm by disruptive groups who intend to cause disorder, confusion and loss of confidence in our Government.

Every major law enforcement department in our Nation recognizes the need for effective intelligence gathering. Police planning to control large demonstrations, whether peaceful or disruptive requires the department to have certain accurate information concerning leadership, size of crowd, intent of the group, whether counter demonstrations are expected, and so on.

Three months ago 29 major city police administrators met in New Orleans, and all were in agreement about the necessity for police intel-

ligence gathering to prevent disorder and violence. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recommended police intelligence units to gather, analyze and disseminate information on potential, as well as actual disorders.

Mr. SOURWINE. Excuse the intervention. When you correct your testimony, could you insert, with the chairman's permission, a list of the 29 PD's which met; might that be in order?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to follows:]

TWENTY NINE POLICE AGENCIES REPRESENTED AT NEW ORLEANS MEETING

Baltimore, Maryland Police Department, Commissioner Donald D. Pomerleau.
Boston, Massachusetts Police Department, Commissioner Robert di Grazia.
Buffalo, New York Police Department, Commissioner Thomas R. Blair.
Chicago, Illinois Police Department, Deputy Superintendent John E. Killackey.
Cincinnati, Ohio Police Department, Chief Carl V. Goodin.
Cleveland, Ohio Police Department, Chief Gerald J. Rademaker.
Columbus, Ohio Police Department, Chief Earl Burden, Jr.
Dallas, Texas Police Department, Chief Donald A. Byrd.
Denver, Colorado Police Department, Chief Arthur G. Dill.
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Special Agent Thomas J. Jenkins (Representing Director Clarence Kelley).
Honolulu, Hawaii Police Department, Chief Francis A. Keala.
Indianapolis, Indiana Police Department, Chief Kenneth B. Hale.
Jacksonville, Florida Sheriff's Office, Sheriff Dale Carson.
Kansas City, Missouri Police Department, Chief Joseph D. McNamara.
Los Angeles, California Police Department, Chief Edward M. Davis.
Los Angeles County, California Sheriff's Office, Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess.
Memphis, Tennessee Police Department, Chief W. O. Crumpy.
Miami Beach, Florida Police Department, Chief Rocky Pomerance, President I.A.C.P.
Minneapolis, Minnesota Police Department, Chief John R. Jensen.
New Orleans, Louisiana Police Department, Superintendent Clarence E. Giarrusso.
New York City Police Department, Commissioner Michael J. Codd.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Police Department, Commissioner Joseph O'Neill.
Phoenix, Arizona Police Department, Chief Lawrence M. Wetzel.
St. Louis, Missouri Police Department, Colonel Eugene J. Camp.
San Antonio, Texas Police Department, Chief Emil E. Peters.
San Diego, California Police Department, Chief Raymond L. Hoobler.
San Francisco, California Police Department, Chief Donald M. Scott.
San Jose, California Police Department, Chief Robert B. Murphy.
Seattle, Washington Police Department, Chief R. L. Hanson.

Mr. ROCHFORD. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recommended police intelligence units to gather, analyze, and disseminate information on potential, as well as actual disorders.

The police have every right to gather and keep revolutionary intelligence material, as well as criminal information. In fact because of the great potential for public harm, the police have a higher obligation to properly obtain and use intelligence information to preserve the peace, and to prevent terrorism within our society, than to deal with lesser forms of crimes which affect only an individual.

All our law-abiding citizens should be proud that we have an intelligence division. Chicago was one of the Nation's few major cities which has not felt the rap of terrorist attack during the past few years. The intelligence function has enabled us to arrest numerous individuals for a variety of criminal activities. They have furnished us information which has enabled us to seize machine guns, dyna-

mite, and blasting caps. It has enabled us to prevent kidnappings and threatened assassinations, and to take measures to prohibit potential major disturbances.

The importance of the intelligence division was recognized by a special Cook County Grand Jury investigating the Students for a Democratic Society during the days of rage, who on November 17, 1969, issued a statement saying—and I quote from their report:

> We observed the splendid work done by the undercover men of the police department, and further realize and appreciate the great danger these dedicated men and their families have been faced with for many months, and in some cases years, both day and night. It is recommended that law enforcement agencies in other communities need the necessary funds in order to resort to this effective manner of obtaining information relative to this subject.

Investigations in the Security Unit are conducted relative to individuals and activities which may threaten danger to the peace and security of the city and its populace; or, who may have indicated an intention to engage in activities which may cause harm to the city and its populace, including the following:

1. Military, revolutionist, and terrorist organizations;
2. Disruptive demonstrations requiring police manpower to exercise both crowd and traffic control;
3. Acts and threats of violence or disruption directed at people and at buildings;
4. Groups who have demonstrated a history of disruptive acts, who function in the periphery of disorder by creating pressure situations.

Keeping in mind, while this is the purpose of the unit, much of the information gathered is raw intelligence which consists of hearsay, rumor, and suspicion, and needs much careful analysis and verification.

As a consequence our files have always been kept confidential and must remain in that category. We do not have dossiers, investigations, or personal files on distinguished persons and others mentioned recently in the press, only references. I think that someone owes respected citizens an apology for releasing their names to the press. The information could only be obtained, in my judgment, improperly, through material turned over for pending litigation and has violated our confidentiality. Trial through the press is dangerous and damaging to everyone.

The U.S. Department of Justice, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice as recently as June 1973, issued a report with guidelines for the chiefs of police on the prevention and control of collective violence, and in a pertinent place emphasized the importance of intelligence operations to identify potential urban problems in advance of any actual violent outbursts. They suggest exactly what we are doing to prevent and control violence.

There are more than 2,000 community organizations listed in the telephone book as operating in Chicago, and I am sure a lot more actually exist; fewer than 50 of these organizations warrant any police attention because of their activities, that is less than 2½ percent. Less than 200 individuals out of the more than 3 million-plus population are the subject of police intelligence investigations and dossiers.

Most of the names recently made public in our city were not and have not been the subject of any intelligence investigations. There were never personal dossiers on more than 100 individuals, and at most the

names you read, or were led to believe were subject of investigations are actually references in our files.

The policy of the intelligence division in placing individuals under surveillance is a judgment decision, usually the result of an initial complaint alleging some activity which might cause the police department to respond. The intelligence division has a policy requiring them to function within the framework of established guidelines designed to reflect current legal and judicial decisions, and the protection of the constitutional rights of all persons. These are the rules and we abide by them.

Those gathering information are assigned to collect reliable, useful, and important information concerning specific persons or activities, pursuant to the successful conclusion of investigations. The interest of the intelligence division is not directed at elected or appointed public officials, nor is the political belief or preference of any individual or group per se of concern to the intelligence division, unless the group or the individual fall within the provisions set forth previously. Other byproduct information is not collected purposely, only in reference——

Mr. SOURWINE. May I interrupt, sir?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Certainly.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a two-way street, isn't it. In this sense, you are saying you don't go after anybody because of who he is, or the office he holds, or the company he keeps—if I understand you correctly—or his political affiliation. But, by the same token, isn't it equally true that you don't lay off anybody for any of those reasons?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you are investigating a conspiracy and you find a councilman in it, you go right ahead and investigate, don't you?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's true.

Mr. SOURWINE. And if you are investigating a plan for violence and it turns out to involve a member of a ministerial association, you wouldn't lay off either him or the investigation; you would treat him like anybody else.

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's absolutely true.

Mr. SOURWINE. And violence is violence, whether you call it violent demonstration, violent protest, or just plain violent; isn't it?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please, go ahead.

Mr. ROCHFORD. The distinction I wish to make is that we do not have political targets, religious targets, or racial targets per se. If the person, however, happens to be involved in conduct that is detrimental to our Government, we would not back away from that individual.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you are saying may perhaps be summed up in a cliche, but still very, very true, you are pursuing your duty without fear or favor.

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please, go ahead.

Mr. ROCHFORD. You have the ability to put it very well, thank you.

Sometimes the undercover efforts are brought to the attention of the public, sometimes they are not. Recently one of our undercover men was badly beaten when his identity was discovered. In the more distant past undercover infiltration by one intelligence officer of the Klu Klux Klan resulted in the arrest of a number of individuals and the seizure

of weapons. On a regular basis people are injured by some groups who profess to be political activists, but in reality care little about anything other than getting their own way. If their demands are not met, they create disorder.

No one likes to be checked or monitored. However, we have an obligation to protect citizens and their property from disruption, violence, harm, and destruction. We intend to fulfill our obligation to the law-abiding citizens of our city.

The files of every newspaper, their morgue files, keep information on prominent citizens and important events. Is that classified as spying? Is it proper for the news media to be able to obtain and pass information about individual acts, and the police department to be prevented from doing so?

Never have there been any instances, or any information from our intelligence files that has been used to embarass or humiliate any individual, or to deal with his moral conduct. Never has the Chicago Police Department collected information solely for religious, racial, or political reasons. Intelligence data always was used to keep the peace, protect the citizens from violence and disorder.

The information was always confidential, but now some other parties have seen fit not only to disclose the information, but to slant and misconstrue the truth, and thereby impugn reputations.

We do not practice a policy of illegal spying, illegal monitoring, or illegal eavesdropping. Since I have become superintendent there has been a total review and analysis of all recorded data, and steps have been taken to expunge extraneous, irrelevant information from our files. Last year we destroyed tons of outdated material and records. That policy will continue after pending litigation is resolved.

Our total intelligence effort has been and will continue to be directed at the prevention aspect of violence, rather than at the enforcement aspect. Not only do I have a primary responsibility and obligation to the citizens of our city, I also have a responsibility to the brave men of the department who have undertaken a very courageous, dangerous and difficult task in the turbulent days of the past.

I cannot and will not abandon my responsibility to them, and I will not turn my back on the law-abiding community. I will continue to closely monitor persons and organizations with a variety of legal strategies who I feel are operating contrary to law and to the best interests of our country.

New, strict, and more stringent guidelines are being updated and developed, and I will personally designate and be responsible for all infiltrations by our department in the future.

We have, and will continue to have, a cooperative arrangement, as indicated earlier, with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, consistent with the guidelines that I previously stated.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a few questions?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I respectfully submit that you are probably not aware of it, but like most people—including counsel, of course—you have semantic hob-goblins. You don't fear the word "monitoring," but you back off from the word "spying."

Isn't it true, that whatever you call it, surveillance is surveillance? Whatever you may choose to call it, preventive intelligence involves gathering information about who is going to do what, or is likely to, that will affect the public safety?

If it is necessary as a part of police procedure to follow somebody, he should be followed. If it is necessary as a part of police procedure to keep records, the records should be kept.

In sum, isn't it true that the words that are applied may have good or bad relations connotations, but the real question is what's done, and the necessity for doing it?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Well, I think we are in agreement. I think a police administrator is always interested in his department's image.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course.

Mr. ROCHFORD. And the word "spying" is repugnant.

Mr. SOURWINE. I'm not criticizing, it is; and that's why everybody who attacks the police department chooses "spying" and other undelightful words that he can think of.

But a man in his personal rights doesn't have any right to foment against public order; he doesn't have any right to plan terror; he doesn't have any right to plan violence; he doesn't have any right to plan to rob a bank, or to commit a murder, or to kidnap, or to violate in any other way the laws of the community; isn't that true?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it's the job of the police to prevent this, to find out who has committed the crime when it has been committed. If the police limit themselves entirely to an attempt to arrest violators of the laws after laws have been violated, what would happen to the crime rate in Chicago?

Mr. ROCHFORD. We would just be unable to handle it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you think of any category of crime that would not increase?

Mr. ROCHFORD. No. We would completely lose control.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, police work requires investigation, you made that clear. I think anybody will admit that. Now, an investigation requires the keeping of records, doesn't it?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Yes, it does.

Mr. SOURWINE. You couldn't permit on your staff an investigator who committed everything to memory, and didn't have any files, and didn't record it in writing.

Mr. ROCHFORD. It would be impossible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course. Now, if you are going to keep files, the files have to include whatever the investigator finds. And you have a process of evaluation which constantly sifts, and sorts, and picks; isn't that true?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. But without the files it can't function. You have to have an intelligence unit, isn't that true?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. The unit has to conduct investigations; investigations have to be reduced to files, it's that simple. Without files a police department can't function. Isn't that true?

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are your investigative files available to you now?

Mr. ROCHFORD. They are.

Mr. SOURWINE. And men working in your department on cases have access, full, free access to these files?

Mr. ROCHFORD. There is full access to me, there is a limitation to the men.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many men do you have at the Chicago Police Department, within 20, or 30?

Mr. ROCHFORD. 13,000 this morning.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many of these men are concerned with intelligence work?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Directly? They are all concerned in a related way.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, what I'm trying to get at, you can't do the work of all these people, all the people who are involved in intelligence in particular areas; can you?

Mr. ROCHFORD. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that for practical purposes at the present time some of your intelligence files at least are not available for free use to the department.

Mr. ROCHFORD. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doesn't that hamper the work of the department?

Mr. ROCHFORD. It puts certain restrictions on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long has that been going on?

Mr. ROCHFORD. Approximately 2 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long do you think it can go on before it becomes a serious hampering influence on the activities of the department?

Mr. ROCHFORD. It is certainly a very restrictive influence at the present time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I'm not going to belabor the point, sir, I am not trying to get you to say something that you are going to regret; I am just trying to get the facts out here so that people will understand what the police department is up against because you are not alone, there are many other police departments in similar shape. The committee, I hope, will be able, through this series of hearings, to make a record with respect to the nature of the whole problem.

Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of the superintendent. I think it might be desirable if he were here for the testimony of other witnesses, but we are informed the President will be in Chicago today, and he wants to dash right back to Chicago. May he have permission to go?

Senator THURMOND. If there are no more questions, Mr. Superintendent, we will excuse you; and I again express our appreciation to you for coming.

Mr. ROCHFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If it is consistent with what you said, I would prefer to wait for the deputy to return with me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You may leave any time you have to.

Senator THURMOND. Do you want to take the Deputy next, then?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. May we go off the record for just a moment?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Ware, the superintendent has laid out the situation for us in general, can you expand it for us, is there more we should know in this area?

## TESTIMONY OF MITCHELL WARE

Mr. WARE. Yes, there is, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. If you will tell us just what your problem is.

Mr. WARE. I had a prepared statement that the superintendent indicated I should probably read into the record, also. It would go into greater detail than the superintendent's because I have the direct responsibility for carrying out the policies.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. You may proceed, Mr. Ware.

Mr. WARE. The Chicago Police Department has the responsibility for the safety of the occupants of the second largest city in the United States, with a total population of more than——

Senator THURMOND. Come in, Senator Scott, come around up here by me. Senator Scott, this is the superintendent and deputy superintendent of police in Chicago.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. We are glad to have you with us, Senator Scott. Go right ahead. He was just beginning his statement.

Mr. WARE. The Chicago Police Department has the responsibility for the safety of the occupants of the second largest city in the United States with a total population of more than 3½ million people. In order to meet our responsibility we have nearly 13,000 sworn officers presently operating.

One of the units which has been found to be of extreme importance and recently subjected to considerable handicap in performing its sworn responsibilities in the security unit of the intelligence division, which comes in my bureau as I carry out the policies of the superintendent.

It is and has been our policy to conduct criminal investigations and as a preventive measure. We conduct intelligence investigations relative to individuals and activities which may present a danger to the peace and security of the city; or who may have indicated an intention to engage in activities which might cause harm to our city.

The superintendent has already given you the general policy guidelines.

The area of police intelligence is one which is most difficult and extremely sensitive. No one likes to be investigated, no one likes to be placed under surveillance, whether they are murders, terrorists, bombers, robbers, or ordinary law-abiding citizens. Unfortunately we are unable, in intelligence, to look at a person and separate the lawless from those who are law-abiding. But, we have an overriding responsibility to attempt to prevent the lawless person from infringing on the rights of the law abiding. The task becomes even more complex when political activists are involved. They always say they are espousing a political cause and their activity is political rather than disruptive.

As we carry out our responsibilities and recognize the complexities we see, as a practical matter, that most of the individuals who belong to organizations which do cause police problems, and many friends and associates who are allies of persons who seek to cause police trouble, are themselves law abiding. But frequently those who are sincerely interested in resolving community problems will be taken advantage of and manipulated, and led into activities by others who have a strategy which causes our intelligence division to become concerned in our efforts to protect the rest of society. Most of the time these threats of disorder, threats of disruptive activity will subside and scrutiny will end. Sometimes it does not. Sometimes these formerly law-abiding citizens will join with persons who plan and create disruptive problems, and help them to create disorder, which again requires our attention. A number of such groups exist in Chicago.

In an investigative agency of any type, where there are threats of activity which can cause harm, or chaos, we have the responsibility to identify those individuals, or we would be remiss in our duties. We must stay within the confines of the law, and the policies of our units and the Chicago Police Department always complies with those mandates. But it would be tragic for us to abdicate our responsibilities and permit these activities to occur, which can affect the public adversely.

Our department recognizes that special care and extreme precaution must be taken in our area of intelligence gathering. Nowhere else in the department is there more need for sensitive judgment decisions, nor for respect for individual privacy, and nowhere else is it less demanded—maybe I should cut this down and shorten it up quite a bit, Senator, you want to get to the meat of it.

Senator THURMOND. That is your judgment. How many pages are there, how long is it?

Mr. WARE. Two more pages.

Senator THURMOND. Well, you go ahead, take the time and read it.

Mr. WARE. Most of the organizations which call themselves political activists groups and require police intelligence scrutiny, border on the fringe of legitimacy. They seldom remove themselves from this posture, but either stimulate other organizations to engage in conduct which can cause police problems, or do so themselves. When a political philosophy encourages disruptive activitiy, when an individual or a group constantly preaches and teaches disruption, then, regardless of their philosophy, it appears to me that law enforcement officers have an obligation to act.

In contrast to reactive police work, which most commonly occurs after a crime has been committed, the intelligence division must exercise crime prevention. We seek to anticipate and prevent crime before it occurs in order to protect our citizens from becoming victims, or from the fear of becoming victims.

By analyzing activities which have occurred in the past, and by keeping abreast of present activities of those who have indicated their propensity for disruptive activity, reasonable projections can be made by an intelligence analyst, which may permit us to anticipate criminal activity, or disruptive problems and take steps to prevent them. This is consistent with the philosophy of every major department in our country.

Our intelligence function is broad. It has been the source of information leading to many criminal arrests, and the prevention of many serious criminal acts.

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Intelligence data has always been utilized to apprehend murderers and so forth. It has been determined since the disruptive days of the 1960's, that it was critical to our efforts to protect the public from hazardous situations and terrorist problems. The public does not question the propriety of gathering information as a means of monitoring typically unlawful activities, nor of individuals allegedly involved in organized crime. However, some persons without full knowledge of all the facts seem to take strong offense and strong countermeasures to prevent our collection of information which relates to unlawful disruption of order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't the conspiracy to disrupt public order, to create violence in the streets, or even go beyond that, just as typically a criminal activity as any other?

Mr. WARE. Yes. We have the problem. They have brought some cases to court, as you are aware. Defendants have been charged with these offenses, and we have been very unsuccessful in our prosecutions; perhaps that is one reason for it.

But the public, we find, does not seem to want us to use the same type of strong prevention methods in that area.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say "they" brought some cases to court, who do you mean by "they," the public prosecutorial authorities?

Mr. WARE. The U.S. attorney right in Chicago brought some conspiracy cases, as you know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know why the cases went awry?

Mr. WARE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I mean, from the standpoint of the police department, don't you have just as much an obligation to prevent violence when it is planned by a so-called political group as you would have prevention plans against violence involving the Mafia, or organized crime of any kind?

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir; we recognize that responsibility.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK.

Mr. WARE. We recognize that responsibility, so does the public recognize our responsibility to prevent disorder; but the means to obtain the identity of one who has the potential for this type of harm is frequently resisted.

I hope my remarks have helped to place our dilemma before you in some measure, and furnished you with some type of idea of the type of problems which have been heaped upon us, in addition to our regular duties of attempting to solve and prevent crimes.

We do not encourage dissent, nor do we discourage dissent; we do not encourage political activists, nor do we discourage political activists, our main function is to protect the public. In order to do that effectively, we know, we must have good intelligence. We know that, so do the people who don't want us to have good intelligence, and don't want us to prevent harm, disorder, and chaos. If they can effectively diminish and destroy our intelligence capability we will undoubtedly find ourselves unable to cope with disruption and mob violence before they occur in the manner we have in the past.

I thank you for your indulgence.

Mr. Chairman the superintendent is waiting for me——

Senator THURMOND. May I just ask you this question. You spoke about conspiracy cases brought by the district attorney's office in Chicago?

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Would you elaborate a little bit on that.

Senator SCOTT. Now, was that the U.S. district attorney?

Mr. WARE. It was the former U.S. district attorney for the Northern District of Illinois.

Senator SCOTT. You are talking about Federal action.

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir; the Conspiracy Seven involved a fellow named Thomas Hayden.

Senator THURMOND. And how does that affect your police department, did you say?

Mr. WARE. We had an undercover officer who had infiltrated the group and was one of the main witnesses, one of our intelligence men; he filled in as a witness in the trial, along with much of our other testimony.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, you cooperated with the system, the U.S. attorney's office in that matter.

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. And there was criticism of that on the part of some?

Mr. WARE. Considerable criticism concerning the entire Conspiracy Seven trial. They attempted, in certain areas, to make them heroes in their efforts to disrupt the activities that were conducted in Chicago.

Senator THURMOND. Senator Scott, do you have any questions?

Senator SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, is this part of the—and I'm not familiar with the details—but as I recall, Congress did pass an act, the Safe Streets Act. There was a provision there that if people traveled from one part of the country, traveled in interstate commerce, for the purpose or with the intention of committing some act of violence, they were found with various kinds of explosives on them, that this was a Federal offense. Is this the type of thing you are talking about, some sort of conspiracy to act in violence?

Senator THURMOND. I think I might answer that. I happened to offer the amendment in the Senate that said if they go from one State to another with the idea of committing a crime, the travel is an offense.

Senator SCOTT. That is the law today. And this action, you feel, was brought under that?

Senator THURMOND. The seven were brought to trial under that section. That's correct, isn't it?

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir.

Senator SCOTT. Well, would you suggest any amendments to this act? This act, is it a question of it being written in a satisfactory way, but the public somehow not being willing to accept this? You said the prosecution was not successful. I'm just wondering, is there any remedial legislation, or is it something beyond the legislative field?

Senator THURMOND. In other words, do you have any recommendations to make to amend the law, or change it. I remember, when we offered it I first offered it stronger, there was objection and I had to modify it to get it through. I would have preferred for it to have been stronger, but at any rate, we couldn't get it through at that time.

Do you have any suggestions about this particular law?

Mr. WARE. I think the law itself, Senator, from what I know about the law, would have effectively enabled some prosecutions of these individuals to occur. But what we find, the prosecutors are reluctant to bring actions under that because they might feel it is too severe; they might feel they are infringing upon the rights of people to dissent because sometimes we find a group which will deliberately violate cer-

tain statutes, violate certain ordinances—small things, like marching where they are not supposed to march, or having an unlawful demonstration, which could, conceivably, fall within the confines of that statute. They are very reluctant to prosecute on things that are that trivial.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was the *Conspiracy Seven* case dismissed by the court, or was there a jury aquittal?

Mr. WARE. If I remember correctly, there was a conviction, initially, on that, and then it was reversed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Reversed by the appellate court?

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the grounds for the reversal?

Mr. WARE. I'm not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask for an order that a brief summary of the legal situation of that case be put in the record at this point?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir.

[The material referred to follows:]

The Chicago 7 contempt case started when the seven original defendants and two of their attorneys were judged guilty of contempt by Judge Hoffman at the close of the original trial. These convictions were later reversed by the Court of Appeals on May 11, 1972, in a decision reported at 461 F.2d 389 (7th Cir. 1972). (On November 21, 1972, the Court of Appeals also reversed the convictions on the substantive counts, 472 F.2d 340 (7th Cir. 1972) and the Supreme Court denied certiorari on March 5, 1973, 410 U.S. 970 (1973). Later, the Government elected not to retry the defendants on the substantive counts).

On remand, the Government elected to try 52 of the 141 contempt specifications before a district judge designated by the Chief Justice pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 292, Judge Gignoux. At the close of the Government's case the Court acquitted defendants John Froines and Lee Weiner and dismissed a number of contempt specifications in an unreported decision dated November 6, 1973. At the close of all evidence, defendants Leonard Weinglass, Rennard Davis and Thomas Hayden were acquitted, and defendants David Dellinger, Abbott Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and William Kunstler were found guilty of contempt in certain instances. Judge Gignoux decided not to impose any further fine or sentence in his December 6, 1973 decision, 370 F. Supp. 1304 (N.D. Ill. 1973). The four defendants appealed and the Court of Appeals affirmed the convictions. 502 F.2d 813 (7th Cir. 1974). The Supreme Court denied certiorari on March 24, 1975. That opinion has not been reported as yet.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Any other questions by anyone?

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, gentlemen. Are you ready to leave now?

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask one question, Mr. Chairman? I understand the importance of the gentlemen getting back to Chicago. Are there still witnesses here who are going to get down to chapter and verse, who is trying to do it to you, and what they are trying to do to you?

Mr. WARE. Yes, sir, the operational personnel on the street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. We will take the next witness now, have a seat; you have been sworn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you going to testify next, Mr. Dorneker, or is Mr. Cushing going to testify next?

Mr. DORNEKER. I believe I will.

Senator THURMOND. Would you tell us your position with the police department?

## TESTIMONY OF EUGENE DORNEKER

Mr. DORNEKER. My position, I am the investigator assigned to the security section, Intelligence Division of the Chicago Police Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many investigators of similar rank, or authority, are there in the department?

Mr. DORNEKER. In the security section there are probably 20 investigators.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just said you were "the" investigator. You are one of the department's investigators, and this particular matter of harassment of the police department is your responsibility. Right?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. You may proceed, unless counsel has some questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all I have, the witness may proceed, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. DORNEKER. The main target or organization I am assigned to is the Alliance to End Repression. And in conducting the investigation concerning the Alliance to End Repression, certain information has come to me and it appears that the Alliance to End Repression is a Communist front organization.

A Communist front organization would be an organization or publication which is created, or taken over by Communists to do the party's work. Because subterfuge often makes it difficult to recognize its true nature the Communist front has become an important weapon of communism in this country. The Communist front, for example, camouflages its true purposes behind such moral and human appeals as peace and civil rights, while serving the aims of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

I have prepared a paper here which outlines some of the information that I have compiled, concerning the formation of the Alliance to End Repression, which I would like to submit to you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. May that be received?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, we will include it in the record.

[The material will be found in the appendix at p. 143.]

Mr. DORNEKER. Thank you.

The Alliance to End Repression had its beginning through efforts of an organization called the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. This committee also advertises the fact that it was formerly known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Commission, and the House Internal Security Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes. This Communist front organization, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation has been cited during House hearings as being a Communist front organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it ever considered by the Subversive Activities Control Board?

Mr. DORNEKER. I don't have that information right now, sir.

As a member group of this National Committee to End Repressive Legislation, there is a group in Chicago, called the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, which is the midwest regional office of the national committee. Its head is Richard Criley, who is the executive director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. In publications given out by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Richard Criley is quoted as saying:

> As one of the organizations which helped create the Alliance, we believe that its tremendous promise must not be jeopardized by critical if temporary lack of funds.

Several other persons who are holding offices with the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights also hold office with the Alliance to End Repression. Some of those persons include Richard Criley, who is the executive director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, and currently serves on the steering committee of the Alliance to End Repression. He is also the head of the legislative task force for the Alliance to End Repression, which handles lobbying for national legislation, which is for the most part pointed at pro-Communist type activities.

Milton Cohen has been identified by sworn testimony at House hearings as being a member of the Communist Party. He is the secretary of the Alliance to End Repression; he serves on the Steering Committee of the Alliance to End Repression.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the Alliance to End Repression.

Mr. DORNEKER. Right.

He is also on the letterhead stationery of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights as a member of the board of directors of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

Jesse Prosten has been identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party, has been a staff member of the Alliance to End Repression, and is listed on the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights stationery as being a member of its board of directors.

Borris Ross made application and was issued a passport to visit the U.S.S.R. on July 23, 1957. The application asked the question, "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party." Ross answered, "Yes."

Boris Ross is a member of the Alliance to End Repression.

Richard Criley has been identified by numerous persons during sworn testimony as being a member of the Communist Party. Richard Criley invoked the fifth amendment numerous times during hearings concerning his alleged Communist activities. He has—Richard Criley—been associated with known Communists, and has been involved with numerous Communist front type organizations.

Several other persons involved with the Alliance to End Repression are associated with identified Communist front organizations.

Francis J. McGrath has been listed as being a Steering Committee member of the Alliance to End Repression, a vice-chairperson of the Alliance to End Repression, and is also a member of the board of directors of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

John Kearney has reported for the Alliance to End Repression Bail Task Force, and is also listed as a member of the Advisory Council of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit to you a copy of an invitation to a reception on January 19, 1973, honoring Communist Party member Claude Lightfoot. This invitation contains a partial list of sponsors, many of whom have been identified as members of the Communist Party. Among the sponsors the following Alliance to End Repression members were listed: Richard Criley, Rev. Martin Deppe and Father John Hill.

[A copy of the invitation submitted by Mr. Dorneker was not of reproduction quality, but contained the following information:]

You are cordially invited to a reception and autographing set honoring Claude Lightfoot, presenting his new book, "Racism and Human Survival: Lessons of Nazi Germany for Today's World." Entertainment and Refreshments. Time: Friday, January 19, 1973. Reception: 7:00 p.m. Program: 8:00 p.m. Place: Midland Hotel. Cartoon on invitation shows wedge being driven through wrist of hand grasping for cringing persons in a corner. Ring on hand has illegible symbol, possibly swastika. Caption attributed to Lightfoot reads, "Racism and anti-communism as in the days of Adolph Hitler can still propel the world toward disaster."

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT RECEPTION—JANUARY 19, 1973

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

Lynda Appelhans, Margaret Appelhans, Arnold Becchetti, Leon Beverly, Richard Criley, Reverend Martin Deppe, Ishmael Flory, Frances Gabow, Ben Green, Bill Hampton, Father John Hill, Mrs. Christine Johnson, Jack Kling, Attorney Max Maiman, Margaret Palmer, John Pappademos, Theodore Pearson, A. A. Rayner, Jr., Harold Rogers, Norman Roth, Attorney Irving Steinberg, Gil Terry, Robbylee Terry, Charles Wilson, and Sylvia Woods.

(Copy of invitation may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The Daily World has been identified by the House Committee as being the official newspaper of the Communist Party U.S.A. Newspaper articles are submitted with this report, one deals with, "Hundreds at Midwest Tribute to Gus Hall," among those present the article included the identification of, "Claude Lightfoot, Cochairman of the Communist Party Black Liberation Commission, and chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois." Also shown was, "Father John Hill, chairman of the Alliance to End Repression."

Again, in October of 1971, the Daily World carried an article,

Tribute to Patterson draws wide array. Sharing the head table with William Patterson and his wife were Ishmael Flory, master of ceremonies and chairman of the banquet committee; Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party; Claude Lightfoot and Arnold Johnson, Communist Party leaders; Mrs. Sally Davis, mother of Angela Davis; Pearl Hart, Civil Liberties attorney, and Reverend John Hill, chairman of the Alliance to End Repression; Ernest DeMaio, director of District 11 of the United Electrical Workers; Jack Klink, secretary of the Illinois Communist Party; Lynn Stinnette, Illinois chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, and Betty Smith and Tommy Dennis, who led delegations from Minnesota and Michigan respectively.

Mr. SOURWINE. What's the significance of the inclusion of the name of Ernie DeMaio in the list of people?

Mr. DORNEKER. To the best of my recollection, Ernest DeMaio has been identified as a member of the Communist Party. But due to my inability to research all of our records in the city, I am not able to give you that information.

[The information was provided later, and follows:]

Ernest DeMaio was identified as being a Communist on July 25, 1973, during hearings before the Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives concerning Revolutionary Activities Directed Toward the Administration of Penal or Correctional Systems, part 4.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why haven't you been able to research your records, haven't you got enough time?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, but all intelligence files are presently locked up, I do not have access to them.

Mr. SOURWINE. By whom, and where?

Mr. DORNEKER. Some of them are in the vault in our premises.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't have access to them?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir. There is a uniformed police officer assigned to the safe, the safe is locked. There is a seal on the safe, and there is a police officer assigned to sit in front of the safe around the clock, and we are not allowed access.

Mr. SOURWINE. These are files that you prepared?

Mr. DORNEKER. Some of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are investigatory files?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, my working files are there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are other investigators in a similar situation?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir; everyone assigned to our office.

Mr. SOURWINE. How can you perform your function if you can't get at your files?

Mr. DORNEKER. At the present time we are not performing our function.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you have to do, attempt to reconstruct those files?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. They don't come along every night and take what you have done that day and lock it up, do they?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, but it's difficult to duplicate things that have gone by the wayside.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. How long a time, and how many people were involved in the effort which resulted in the building up of the files that are now locked up, to which you are denied access?

Mr. DORNEKER. Well, it would be the accumulation—some of the books and references I have are from previous committee hearings; leaflets and reports that were submitted by other officers years ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. It's years of work to which many people have contributed, correct?

Mr. DORNEKER. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. I presume your files might include testimony of Mr. Criley before this committee in 1956 and 1961, when he took the fifth amendment.

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, I have that information in there also.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he was refusing to answer questions about his membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. DORNEKER. Correct.

Senator THURMOND. Now, why are those files locked up and inaccessible to you?

Mr. DORNEKER. Mr. Chairman, to the best of my knowledge——

Senator THURMOND. Is there a court order?

Mr. DORNEKER. Part of it is a court order, and part of it is by the direction of the superintendent.

Senator THURMOND. Well, I mean, was a case brought by some dissidents, or people who are trying to prevent the police from accumulating and using those files; or what was the purpose in putting them

under lock and key and making them inaccessible to the police department?

Mr. DORNEKER. Well, it began with the Federal law suit that was filed by the Alliance to End Repression, against the intelligence division. Shortly after that the Alliance to End Repression attempted to get sympathy towards their case. The news media began a series of articles which were slanted against us.

Senator THURMOND. All the news media in Chicago, or just some of them?

Mr. DORNEKER. I would have to say all of the news media in Chicago have carried adverse articles. These articles made accusations concerning our conduct, and allegations of things we were supposed to have done. I believe the court closed the file section at our building. There were accusations that we were destroying records at our facility. And the superintendent, to preserve his integrity, found it necessary to impound our files to cease these accusations in the papers.

Senator SCOTT. This court order, was that from a Federal court?

Mr. DORNEKER. I believe it was a Federal court order.

Senator SCOTT. Now, you mentioned—Mr. Chairman, if I might—you mentioned articles in the paper. Are you talking about news items, or editorials?

Mr. DORNEKER. Pardon?

Senator SCOTT. You mentioned news items that may have had a bearing on the records being locked up, the papers all writing critical articles. Were they news items, or were they editorials, or a combination?

Mr. DORNEKER. For the most part copyrighted articles, it was a full attack, news articles, columnists and editorials.

Senator SCOTT. Well, was it by columnists? It was not news accounts that happened.

Mr. DOERNEKER. It was columnists and news articles.

Senator SCOTT. Who were some of these columnists?

Mr. DORNEKER. Mike Royko, Larry Green, Rob Warden.

Senator SCOTT. Do they write primarily in Chicago, are they Illinois papers, or are they nationally syndicated columns? I'm not familiar with these.

Mr. DORNEKER. I believe they are just in Chicago.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOERNEKER. I have one copyrighted article here from the Chicago Daily News, "Report fire faked to hide cop spy files," which tells of the fire which was on the eighth floor of our police building. The eighth floor is where our intelligence division files are located, but the fire was in a remote area, was next to a court room, and it was just a rubbish fire in a corner; there was nothing involved with the police files. But the news article tells, "Report fire faked to hide cop spy files." This information was also——

Senator THURMOND. A completely misleading article, then.

Mr. DORNEKER. Correct, and it partially came from the Alliance to End Repression. Officer Cushing has some personal information concerning that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of the involvement of the Alliance in the misinformation in this article through information provided to you by Mr. Cushing, or from any other source?

Mr. DORNEKER. I guess that's a question to ask Mr. Cushing.

Mr. SOURWINE. I'm asking you first if you have any information other than provided by Mr. Cushing with respect to the participation of the Alliance in this particular news story which you said was erroneous information.

Mr. DORNEKER. No; I only know what Mr. Cushing——

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. We will get to that, with the Chair's permission, when we have Mr. Cushing.

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, may this news story go into the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Go ahead. It will be received.

[The article referred to follows:]

[From the Chicago Daily News, Mar. 26, 1975]

REPORT FIRE FAKED TO HIDE COP SPY FILES

(By Larry Green and Rob Warden)

A mysterious fire in a Chicago Police Headquarters file room last January was set to make it appear spy documents being sought in a federal court suit were destroyed, an informant told The Daily News.

In recent days, a Cook County grand jury investigating Daily News disclosures of widespread spying by the police also has requested some of the records.

The documents were removed from the room used to store intelligence files and secreted in another part of police headquarters before the fire, the informant said. Worthless material was substituted and burned in their place, he added.

None of the documents has yet been turned over to either the grand jury or to the federal court.

"Nothing was burned. It was a ruse to explain away the files," said the source, who is in a position to have such information.

Police have never formally claimed that files being sought in both cases were either missing or destroyed by fire. Instead, they have used legal arguments in both federal court and criminal court to prevent their disclosure.

Fire department records show the blaze was reported at 10:58 p.m. on Jan. 20, just four days before the records were to be produced in the federal court case.

It broke out in file cabinets in an 8th-floor room where police intelligence files are kept.

On Jan. 14 U.S. Judge William Lynch ordered the records over to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Alliance to End Repression.

They were among several groups and individuals who filed suit in November seeking to disband the secret police Intelligence Division.

The suit also seeks $400,000 in damages for alleged illegal activities by the unit, including wiretapping, physical harassment and intelligence gathering.

The police department failed to produce the records by Jan. 24—when they were due—and on Feb. 11, Lynch, a former law partner of Mayor Richard J. Daley, rescinded the order.

Judge Joseph Sam Perry also refused to order the records turned over in a hearing Tuesday in U.S. District Court.

However, Acting Chief Criminal Court Judge Richard J. Fitzgerald allowed the Police Department and city lawyers until next Wednesday to either produce the records or present new information on why they should not.

Fire Department records characterize the Jan. 20 blaze as causing "small" damage and say it was extinguished with "hand pumps."

In a related event, data on police electronic surveillance subpenaed by the grand jury investigating police spying was reportedly removed from the Intelligence Division's offices "in the last few days" and hidden in the department's crime lab, the informant said.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Dorneker, you have said that all of the papers carried derogatory information. Didn't you see any articles, or columns which were favorable to the department's position?

Mr. DORNEKER. Very few. There were, as I can recall, maybe one or two.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nothing further at this point.

Senator THURMOND. I am wondering if the police department had a press aide, or someone who could go to the papers and explain to them what you have done, what you are doing, and try to get their cooperation.

Mr. DORNEKER. I don't believe so, sir, because some of the reporters that are involved, like this story by Larry Green and Rob Warden, who apparently are working closely with the Alliance to End Repression.

Senator THURMOND. What paper do they represent?

Mr. DORNEKER. The Chicago Daily News. We have documents, given out by the Alliance to End Repression, which elaborate on that, how the Alliance to End Repression worked with their attorneys to file federal law suits against us, and then gave information to Rob Warden and Larry Green. So, I don't believe in that case it would be advantageous to us to try to sway them.

Senator THURMOND. Well, how about the Chicago Tribune?

Mr. DORNEKER. I am not familiar with that.

Senator THURMOND. They would be more objective, wouldn't they?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, but so far it's been more insinuation and innuendo. Apparently no one is really seeking the truth of our situation.

Senator THURMOND. Well, I'm just thinking, if you could get them the truth, if your police department could get the truth to them, the Chicago Tribune or some news media there, and explain to them what you are doing and the importance of it, that they might write articles favorable to your position.

Mr. DORNEKER. Mr. Chairman, Superintendent Rochford did write a press release which concerned the intelligence-gathering activities of our department, and submitted it to the news media. To the best of my recollection, I recall a later statement by Superintendent Rochford when he said, "You didn't even find it fit to print my press release."

Senator THURMOND. They didn't print his press release?

Mr. DORNEKER. Correct, I believe they didn't.

Senator THURMOND. Well, has he had an interview, or conversation, or visited the officers of any newspapers? Sometimes, if you make an effort to get to people and explain your position, if they are neutral, then they can help you. Sometimes just issuing a press release is not sufficient. If you have a personal conversation with some of these news media, they might help you.

Excuse me, go ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't think that any newspaper has an obligation to print the police department's press release, do you?

Mr. DORNEKER. I believe they should print the press release because the Superintendent feels that this is information that is vital.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, who decides what a newspaper should print, the Police Superintendent, or the newspaper?

Mr. DORNEKER. The press, the newspaper decides.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course. Now, I don't intend to quarrel with your obvious feeling that the press is against you, I don't know what the facts are, and I'm willing to accept your testimony. But I want to be sure the record speaks clearly—and I don't mean that in derogation to you at all. You spoke of the newspapers, or some of the newspaper columnists working very closely with the Alliance and cooperating with them in harassing the police department.

Is this a reaction, you feel that way because the newspapers don't approve of you and have criticized the department? Or do you have any hard evidence to indicate there is actually a connection between the reporters or columnists at the papers and these Communist-dominated and—controlled organizations, or any of them?

Mr. DORNEKER. I believe there is a close working relationship.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have said that. I am asking you, do you have any hard evidence of it? I'm not harassing you, but I assure you, your case is going to be better if you limit it to not your feelings, but what you know, what you have hard evidence to.

Mr. DORNEKER. Mrs. Noren has a publication given out by the Alliance which states that Rick Gutman of the Alliance has made contact with the Daily News, and they kept the story going.

[The material referred to follows:]

ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION—APRIL 1975 PROGRESS REPORT

COUNCIL MEETING AGENDA

The "Red Squad" . . . The Alliance's historic March 20 public disclosure of documented information showing illegal infiltration of civic groups by the Chicago Police Department will be the main item—with current information about the Red Squad's documents, activities and style. Various documents from the Alliance's dossier will be circulated. A small sampling of such documents revealed five different "numbered" informants covering our meetings then relating their information "on the street" to another person—on its way to "our" file.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

The headquarters of the Alliance opened with two staff April 1, 1970. On Saturday evening, April 26, 1975 we will begin celebrating our 5th anniversary with a supper and commemorative program at McGiffert House, 5751 S. Woodlawn. A buffet dinner begins at 6 P.M. Congressman Ralph Metcalfe has accepted our invitation to start the program with a keynote address about 7:00. A spoken history of the Alliance and its times—1970 to 1975—will be presented by a score of persons associated with Alliance programs over the years.

Our 5-year history leads to an Alliance first—the presentation of an Alliance "Civil Freedoms" award to Rick Gutman, our volunteer attorney who broke the Red Squad story—and by then probably more of the story can be told. Twenty-nine year old Rick is an alumnus of Proviso East High, Harvard, U of Chicago, Peace Corps, Nader's Raiders and the ACLU.

A record turn-out is expected and we must make reservations ahead. So to guarantee admission, please purchase your tickets ahead and early—by mail or at the Alliance office . . . or through your delegate to the Alliance. $6.50 includes a roast beef dinner.

RED SQUAD EXPOSE

Rick Gutman, volunteer attorney for the Citizens Alert Project of the Alliance to End Repression, was the one who identified the Red Squad undercover agents and the names of the Chicago civic groups they had infiltrated. The information was turned over to Chicago Daily News reporters, Larry Green and Rob Warden, with the agreement the Alliance be given credit for uncovering the facts.

The publicity aftermath was enormous, putting the Alliance's name on front pages for days. The Washington Post and Newsweek, in telling the story, noted the Alliance's work against illegal surveillance. Local television carried interviews with Alliance representatives. WGN, WBBM and WLS provided the Alliance time to reply to their editorials.

State Representative Joseph Lundy has introduced a bill in Springfield which, if enacted would require Police Departments to obtain authorization from a judge before infiltrating an organization. A City Council meeting called to discuss the problem was adjourned for lack of a quorum.

A few law suits were filed in the wake of the news. Several organizations and individuals have asked to join the federal suit we have pending before Judge William Lynch. On our appeal from a court order which would have permitted

the Police Department to destroy files on persons not named in our complaint, the Police Department was ordered, at least temporarily, to keep intact Intelligence Division files on all persons.

Meanwhile criminal proceedings continue before a County Grand Jury. Charges of burglary and illegal wiretapping alleged in our federal law suit are being investigated by the State's Attorney's Office. Senators Percy and Stevenson have requested federal criminal investigation. This may be a touchy matter if newspaper stories that the FBI received stolen documents from the Red Squad prove to be true.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION BILL

The Alliance's Freedom of Information Bill, H.R. 452, introduced in Springfield last month by Representative Susan Catania and nine co-sponsors, is now being considered by the Executive Committee of the House of Representatives. John Huston, law student with our State Legislation Task Force, who drafted our bill, has testified that the need for such a bill is commonly felt by most people and organizations seeking public information and that the passage of such a bill is needed to bring the State of Illinois into line with procedures followed by federal agencies.

The Executive Committee will vote on the bill on Thursday, April 10. Wire, phone or write your representative before then to ask his help for H.R. 452, the Freedom of Information Bill. Call us if you need names, addresses, etc.

BAIL LEGISLATION

Fortunately most of the proposed revisions in the bail statutes have died in committee. However, H.R. 422, sponsored by Brian Duff has passed out of committee. This bill advocates bond revocation and holding accused without bond while additional proceedings are begun. Contact your legislators and urge them to oppose this bill; immediate action is needed. For additional information, call Judi McArdle, 427–4064.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON THE MEDIA

Participants in last month's CCOM conference on "air time" were enthusiastic about coming together again—this time for a more extensive exploring of the print media. Carolyn Toll, CHICAGO SUN TIMES reporter who spoke at the conference, has arranged to conduct her Loop College Adult Education seminar at the Alliance headquarters for our convenience. The six-session, 5:30 to 7:30 Monday evening seminar will start April 21. Topics will include basic publicity skills for community groups, press releases, press conferences. There will be informal sessions with media people, in addition to Ms Toll, discussing why certain community issues are not covered the way people would like them to be. We will explore Community-Press Councils as a way of closing the gap between members of the community and their communities' media. Materials will be provided in the total fee of $5. There is a condition; for Loop College to offer this—a minimum of 15 registrants paying their $5-each the first evening. If all who signed up at the March conference can make this time, we will be assured of the full seminar. It will assure us—if you will let us know ahead you will be here 4/21 evening. Loop College gives one community credit for the course. Bring a sandwich; the Alliance will provide the coffee.

COOK COUNTY SPECIAL BAIL PROJECT

Bail continues to expand. An additional staff person will be hired to help with Weekday Court. Resumes should be mailed to CCSBP, 22 E. Van Buren. Job description is available on request. And of course, volunteers always needed 7 days a week.

Calendar items . . . The Second Thursday, April 10 Citizens Alert delegation to the monthly Police Board Meeting; call Ruth Wells here. State Legislative Task Force: 1st and 3rd Mondays at 4:30. Gay Rights Task Force—Monday, April 28 at 5:30 PM—on the new City Council and amendments to city codes and an employment thrust.

Alliance finances a reminder of our needing you . . . Many organizations sent in their annual affiliation contribution the first quarter—many more still due and needed. Individuals may "join" as "supporting members" at a $10 minimum yearly contribution—thus receiving these monthly Progress Reports, membership card—and a soon-to-be-published more extensive "Open Letter." Monthly or regular "pledges" are automatically supporting members. Please join us.

Name _____ Phones _____
Address _____
(zip)
Organization, if any _____
_____ I pledge a monthly contribution of $_____ till I give notice.
_____ I would like to be a "supporting member" $_____ enclosed.
_____ Am enclosing $_____ for _____ tickets ($6.50 each) for April 26 Supper.
_____ Though I cannot attend the Supper Celebration, am enclosing $_____.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Rick Gutman?

Mr. DORNEKER. Richard M. Gutman is a member of the Alliance to End Repression; he is an attorney, and he signed the Federal law suit against the Chicago Police Intelligence Division.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is counsel for the organization in its action against the police?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Richard Gutman who was a member of the Venceremos Brigade, who made a trip to Cuba?

Mr. DORNEKER. With the information I have available to me, I believe he is the same Richard Gutman.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Richard Gutman that I was inquiring about, Mr. Chairman, is Richard M. Gutman who was a member of the Third Venceremos Brigade, according to the passenger manifest, which is a mater of record. We took substantial testimony, the Chair will remember, from Correspondent DeLake June DeVois on the Cuban questionnaire regarding police which was given these Venceremos Brigade people.

You have no knowledge of that on your part?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I won't push this matter any further, but I want you to try to separate the feeling which you would naturally have that everybody in the press is fighting you, and not even the citizens are supporting you. Your own superintendent appears to have had the files locked up.

But, even these things being true, try to separate what you know and have hard evidence to, and what you feel may be the case. It is perfectly all right to state your feelings, but just don't state them as a fact unless you have evidence on it.

It may be possible, for instance, that the superintendent had the files locked up because in his best judgment that was the best way to keep them within the control of the police department, even if you didn't have access to them. He may feel that if they got carted off to a courthouse basement the police may never see them again. And it may be because of the public relations involved, the general feeling, that the newspapers feel they have reasons for questioning the police department. The fact that a man is against you doesn't necessarily make him a Communist, and I want you to realize that. I don't want you to say things that look as if you were saying differently.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Senator Scott, do you have some questions?

Senator SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, just listening to the questioning of counsel, I obviously agree with counsel as far as ascertaining the facts. And yet, I have a very great feeling of sympathy for the viewpoints, and the comments that have been made by the witness.

I am just wondering if he might have any suggestions that might be helpful to us, when a newspaper, acting within its right under our Constitution to make its own decision on what it wants to print and what it doesn't want to print; but when it seems to be a pattern of putting things in the paper unfair to the police department and refusing to print items that would explain the police department's position.

Do you have any suggestions that might be applied nationwide, perhaps, as to what could be done about that within, the framework of our Constitution and our first amendment rights?

I can understand your frustration, that is what I am saying.

Mr. DORNEKER. I appreciate your seeking my ideas. At this time I really can't offer any suggestions as to how they could be made to print what we consider to be the truth. I have seen, I have had personal occasions where a situation has happened, and when I read it in the paper at a later time, you wouldn't recognize it as being the same situation.

Senator SCOTT. Well, everybody in public life has experienced something similar to that at one time or another.

But you don't have any thoughts, or any suggestions on how—not that we would make the people print the truth, but do you have any suggestions on how we could obtain fair treatment in the press for the law enforcement officers?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir; at this time I couldn't give you any constructive suggestions.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. OK. Is there anything else you would like to say to us?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir. There is another person involved with the Alliance to End Repression, who held office with the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, who has not been identified as being a member of the Communist Party, but who holds offices in identified front organizations and in the Alliance to End Repression. This person is Reverend Martin Deppe, who is a member of the Advisory Council of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; and has also held positions on the Alliance to End Repression.

So, there are numerous persons who are connected with the Alliance to End Repression and with identified Communist front organizations.

Senator THURMOND. Are there any other you would like to name?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir, not at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Dorneker, you have given us many documents. Are they originals, or copies of the documents supplied at the outset of the hearing by the superintendent, or is this some of your separate file?

Mr. DORNEKER. This is my separate file.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the nature of these documents, are these memoranda you have written for the file to your superiors?

Mr. DORNEKER. It consists of 21 different exhibits. The majority of them are letterhead stationery, letters, or leaflets given out by organizations which I have read and included in an 18-page report, which gives a brief summary.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said they are exhibits. Now, you don't have any actual letterheads here, do you?

Mr. DORNEKER. Well, I have copies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can these letterheads be furnished for the committee records?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can these memoranda that you prepared be furnished?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Do you want us to make photostats, or do you want to turn them over to him now?

Mr. DORNEKER. I will turn this copy over to you now, sir.

Senator THURMOND. They will be received.

[The report and exhibits will be found in the appendix p. 143.]

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Then, you are going to give us all the basic documents that you have been summarizing, here?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, then, let me take it so far, with the Chair's permission, and see if I understand. You told us so far the police are in your opinion under attack by an organization called the Alliance to End Repression.

Senator THURMOND. To end what?

Mr. SOURWINE. To End Repression. The Alliance is headed by, or has as its moving spirit one Richard Criley.

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. This organization was founded when?

Mr. DORNEKER. In the early part of 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1970 or 1971?

Mr. DORNEKER. 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. This organization was a direct out-growth of the National Committee against Repressive Legislation?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. That, in turn, is a new name for the National Committee to Abolish the HUAC?

Mr DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Those were known Communist fronts?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are satisfied that the Alliance to End Repression is a Communist front?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the Chicago area the Alliance to End Repression works in tandem and is interlocked with the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights in your opinion a Communist front organization?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified that Mr. Criley is associated with the Alliance to End Repression, and with other identified Communists, including one Milton Cohen and one Jesse Prosten and Borris Ross?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified there are a number of people in prominent positions in the Alliance who have long records of association with front organizations, or with the Communist Party, or with Communist functions?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have named as included in that group one John Kearney; one Rev. Martin Deppe; and one John Hill?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Frank McGrath?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, Frank McGrath is also included in that group.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you said the Alliance has the support of a long list of social and religious organizations?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. At that point in the testimony, when you correct the record, can you insert a list of other social and religious organizations which support the alliance?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes; we do have a list.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you indicate any cross-directorates or other inter-connections between them and the Alliance?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it might be well to insert those in the record at this point.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have them now?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, we will accept them in the record.

Mr. DORNEKER. In my papers here, I do have a list.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you leave, or when you correct the record, please supply them.

Senator THURMOND. We will insert them in the record at such place as is deemed appropriate.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very well, Mr. Chairman.

[The material referred to follows:]

CITIZENS ALERT

GENERAL PURPOSE

Citizens Alert is an organization of Chicago-area residents which seeks basic institutional improvements in the Chicago Police Department. Its chief method of work is knowledgeable involvement in public meetings, small group discussion with public officials, and public education.

STRUCTURE

Its board of directors is responsible for the policy and work of the organization. A list of board members is attached. Fred Glick is the elected chairman; Ruth Wells, coordinator; and John Hill, consultant.

FUNDING

It first received funds in calendar 1973. Its $21,000 budget came from the Wieboldt Foundation ($15,000), CNA Corporate Responsibility Division ($3,000), Playboy Foundation ($500), United Methodist Church ($1,200) and board raised moneys ($1,300). Funds for its 1974 budget have been written into the 1974 state plan of the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission which dispenses funds provided by the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

The Citizens Alert project was developed by the Alliance to End Repression which founded two other projects, the Cook County Special Bail Project and the Illinois Prisons and Jails Project. The Cook County Special Bail Project, consisting of three hundred volunteers, has been operating a Release-on-Recognizance Program at Holiday Court since February 27, 1971. Funds for this project are also LEAA funds. The Illinois Prisons and Jails Project, which is cooperating with the Illinois Department of Corrections in setting up a citizens visiting pro-

gram to Stateville prison, is funded by the Field Foundation of Illinois, Woods Charitable Trust, Wieboldt Foundation and the Playboy Foundation. The three projects are tax-exempt, managed by independent boards. John Hill, coordinator of the Alliance to End Repression, is consultant to them all. All are located on the same floor at 22 E. Van Buren. The Alliance itself is a coalition of church, community and human relations groups; a list of these is attached.

AFFILIATED MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS—OCTOBER 1974

1. Adrian Dominican Sisters Social Concerns Committee (Ill., Iowa, Upper Michigan).
2. Association of Black Social Workers.
3. Catholic War Veterans of USA, St. Martin de Porres Post 1854.
4. Chicago-Area Fellowship for Renewal.
5. Chicago-Area Unitarian Universalist Council.
6. Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.
7. Chicago Connections.
8. Chicago Disciples Union.
9. Chicago Heights Unitarian Universalist Community Church.
10. Chicago Peace Council.
11. Community Christian Church of Chicago.
12. Community of United People (of Holy Family Catholic Church).
13. Concerned Argonne Scientists.
14. Congregation Solel—Religious Action Committee—Highland Park.
15. Countryside Unitarian Universalist Fellowship.
16. Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Clubs.
17. Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago.
18. Evanston Ecumenical Action Council (Federation of Churches' Action Program).
19. Fifty-Seventh Street Meeting of Friends.
20. First Congregational Church of Wilmette.
21. First Unitarian Church of Chicago.
22. First United Methodist Church of Evanston.
23. Friendship Club.
24. Friendship House.
25. Glencoe Human Relations Committee.
26. Japanese-American Citizens League.
27. Jesuit School of Theology of Chicago.
28. Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago.
29. K A M Isaiah Israel Congregation—Social Action Committee.
30. Lutheran Church in America, Illinois Synod—Social Ministry Committee.
31. Mattachine Midwest.
32. National Association of Social Workers—Chicago Chapter.
33. National Council of Jewish Women—Chicago Section.
34. National Council of Jewish Women—Evanston-Niles Township Section.
35. Near North Unitarian Universalist Fellowship.
36. North Side Friends.
37. SCOPE (Southwest Community Organization for Peaceful Equality).
38. SHURE (South Suburban Human Relations Federation).
39. Sisters of Charity, B. V. M.—Social Response Commission (National organization).
40. St. Agatha Catholic Church.
41. St. Athanasius Catholic Church Community Life Committee.
42. St. Elizabeth Catholic Church.
43. St. Mark United Methodist Church.
44. Tenth Congressional District Politics for Peace.
45. Third Unitarian Church of Chicago.
46. United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, Northern Illinois Conference.
47. Urban Apostolate of the Sisters.
48. Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ.
49. West Side Christian Parish.
50. Wheadon United Methodist Church—Evanston.
51. Wilmette Human Relations Committee.
52. Winnetka Human Relations Committee.
53. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Chicago Branch.
54. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, North Shore Branch.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Dorneker, you told us the stated purpose of the Alliance to End Repression is to combat restrictive legislation, or improper or repressive activities by the police department?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us its real purpose is substantially different?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what is its real purpose, or what are its real purposes, in your opinion?

Mr. DORNEKER. One of the purposes of the Alliance—that came out at an Alliance to End Repression meeting—they decided they would create a surveillance task force which would concentrate in the following areas, dealing with the so-called "Red Squad." One was to obtain all information possible in regard to the identity of individual agents and respective accountability in the chain of command of the Chicago Police Department; and to determine the location of Red Squad fronts, or specifically administrative and operational control centers of the overt units of the subversive section.

The ultimate goal of the surveillance task force was to control and to limit the operations of the Red Squad, plus the prospect of the eventual elimination of all our activities.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. DORNEKER. Another area of repression on the part of the Alliance toward the Chicago Police Department deals with the law suit concerning discrimination, which made it difficult to hire personnel, or promote personnel, by creating a shortage of police officers in the city of Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anything else? [No response.]

Do you think that the Alliance seeks to abolish police intelligence?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, I believe they do.

Mr. SOURWINE. And in the interim between then and now and the successful abolishment which they hope for, they are seeking to render your intelligence operations ineffective?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think they are seeking to discredit the police department?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think they especially cultivate hostility against it in the public's mind?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And do you think they especially cultivate hostility against the police in minority groups?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have they sought to disrupt meetings of the Police Board?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, they have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have they sought to establish a degree of control over the activities of the police department through the accountability sessions they have been able to organize?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have they sought to infiltrate the Police Beat program?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have they sought through that to establish a degree of control over police activities?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Police Beat program was recently set up by the Chicago Police Department in the interest of better community relations?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us a little more about it for the record.

Mr. DORNEKER. The Beat Representative program was set up to have representatives of the citizenry be able to assist members of the police department that are doing the actual street work. There is also a Steering Committee set up in each police district. At one of the last Alliance to End Repression meetings, which Mrs. Noren attended, a discussion was held at this meeting by members of the Alliance, how they planned to use various civic organizations and civic groups as their vehicle to enter into the Beat Representative program, and to gain a position in the Steering Committees in each district.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the Alliance to End Repression has several separate lines of attack against the police department, if I understand you correctly?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the Bail Bond program?

Mr. DORNEKER. The Bail Bond program is formally known as the Cook County Special Bail project. They seek to have reform in bail laws. This was the part of Alliance to End Repression which Officer Cushing was a member, and can speak with greater authority concerning their activity.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the Alliance to End Repression has also mentioned as a special target the police surveillance project, has it not?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the police surveillance project, as they operate it?

Mr. DORNEKER. That is the task force that I formerly made reference to, the surveillance task force, where they are attempting to obtain the identity of our informants, where we are located, to bring lawsuits against us, so that we would be disbanded. This is the lawsuit they filed the latter part of last year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, under the surveillance project they are harassing not only the department, and not only the intelligence operation, but they are also harassing individual police officers who are assigned to function within your operation, are they not?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what is the Citizens Alert project?

Senator THURMOND. Could I ask a question right there? How are they harassing the individuals?

Mr. DORNEKER. Individual officers. We have information that an individual, Thaddeus Tecza was arrested at our intelligence facility, Navy pier, May 3, 1971, attempting to gain entry into our facility. He was referred to at an Alliance meeting by an Alliance person as being one of their people. At a later time Thaddeus Tecza was observed with Mark Weiss, who was sent from New York, to photograph members of our intelligence division during their field operations. We have photographs of Mark Weiss and Thaddeus Tecza together with their photographic equipment, as they were photographing us at demonstrations.

As we would leave our facility at Navy pier, Mark Weiss and members of his crew would take our photographs as we passed on foot and in cars.

Mark Weiss, second from left, and Thaddeus Tecza, extreme right.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I inquire along the lines of the Chairman's question?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Citizens Alert project, about which I intend to ask you in just a moment, does not involve the surveillance of particular policemen, does it?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The surveillance of particular policemen is to make possible harassment of the police, in one way, by trying to point him out in situations where he is trying to operate under cover; is that true?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. By making public his identity, and making public where he is operating?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. By trying to make it difficult, if not impossible for him to infiltrate meetings or organizations or groups where his job requires him to go and seek intelligence?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. These are all forms of harassment of the police operation in that sense, and interference with police activity, are they not?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have there been any threats of harm to individual police officers in this area?

Mr. DORNEKER. As the Superintendent stated, one undercover officer was attacked and beaten as a result of being identified, unfortunately.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I move on to what is called the Citizens Alert program? Does that sufficiently answer the Chair's question?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the Citizens Alert project, what is its funtion?

Mr. DORNEKER. The Citizens Alert project handles the areas concerning all other police-related matters.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, is it simply a compilation of citizens' complaints, or does it seek to encourage citizens' complaints to use them as bludgeons against the police department?

Mr. DORNEKER. They seek out negative type situations, as compared to seeking out positive things.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is an organization, is it not, for organizing citizens to complain against the police, pumping up complaints citizens may have, whether they are valid or invalid, for the purpose of using them in every possible way to hurt the police department in the public eye?

Mr. DORNEKER. Our experience has been that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, let me try to summarize what you have just told us. Is it true that the attack against the police by the Alliance to End Repression has sought to harass the police department by initiating legal actions against it on a range of issues?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. By conducting a campaign against it in the public media?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. By playing a disruptive role at police board meetings?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. By actually infiltrating the police department?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. By "infiltrating," what do you mean, are you saying they are in the police department as officers?

Mr. DORNEKER. The Alliance to End Repression has made statements in their publication, stating that their police informant has given them information. They say that they have police informants.

Senator THURMOND. They admit it themselves.

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand that all these statements and allegations are supported by documents that you promised to give us, and which the Chair said will be received.

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

[The material referred to follows:]

ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION—MAY 1975 PROGRESS REPORT

COUNCIL MEETING AGENDA

The meeting will be largely on State Legislation. We will deal with the hand gun legislation, capital punishment repeal, and freedom of information legislation introduced by Leland Rayson. The political and social realities of

Joliet Correctional Center, where the recent prisoner uprising occurred, will be described by members of IPJP's Citizens Visiting Committee who have been visiting the institution for more than a year. Milt Cohen will also lead a discussion on the possible place for senior citizens in the struggle to end repression.

FIRST PUBLICATION . . . HOW THE RED SQUAD EXPOSE HAPPENED

The Alliance's most dramatic single stroke achievement in its five year history came with the expose of police infiltrators. The Red Squad law suit, while technically alive, appeared to be dying for lack of interest. Motions for discovery had not been granted. The pace was slow.

In an effort to pick up the pace and encourage public interest, Rick Gutman, a volunteer attorney with Citizens Alert, tried to interest news reporters in the suit. But no one within the Intelligence Division was talking with reporters. And the reporters had no documentary information linking the Red Squad to questionable activities. An anonymous police informant did reveal to Citizens Alert that there had been a fire in an Intelligence Division file cabinet. A motion to turn over the files for safekeeping to the court, based on the Fire Department's report of the fire, was denied. Reporters did not, at first, follow through on our report of the fire.

Finally Rick Gutman obtained a copy of the Chicago Police Department's payroll. He reasoned that police officers doing undercover work would have to be on the payroll if they were getting paid for their work. He looked for persons assigned to 175, payroll code for the Intelligence Division. There, in category 099, entitled Assignment Unknown, he saw six names, including those of Geno Addams who had infiltrated the Alliance and Howard Pointer who had infiltrated PUSH. Milt Cohen helped Rick indentify Mark Salone as the past president of the Organization for a Better Austin. Since the other officers were listed as white males, Rick Gutman called what he thought would be a likely white target for police infiltration, the Citizens Action Program. CTP people were surprised to hear the name "Melvin Barna," a close GAP associate.

*Daily News* reporters Larry Green and Rob Warden were called. At a meeting on the street, which ironically is the way Red Squad agents turn over their information to their superior, Rick Gutman turned over his information to the reporters. He had an agreement with them that the Alliance would be given credit for breaking the story.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The Alliance's Freedom of Information Bill introduced by Representative Susan Catania and testified for by John Huston before the House Executive Committee never get out of committee. But a Walker sponsored bill, introduced by Leland Rayson seems to have a chance of getting to the floor next week. As soon as you get this letter write to your legislators to support HB 1820. The Walker bill is similar in most important aspects to the bill introduced by the Alliance.

Department heads, both local and state, do not want to support a bill that will make them disclose their operations to the public. It will probably take a major struggle over a period of years to create the freedom of information movement necessary to insure passage of a freedom of information bill. Voting will probably be the week of May 12. Call Mary Alice Rankin at the Alliance, 427–4064, for help in the names of your representatives . . . and/or where to write them.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

The federal agency which combs through Latino communities in an effort to find and deport illegal Mexican-American immigrants is the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U. S. Justice Department. In addition to the questions raised by this type of operation there are questions also raised by the racial composition of the agency. According to this agency's currently available employment records, there are only fourteen Latino employees in a work force of 125 in this 13-State federal region.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended in 1972 requires the U. S. Civil Service Commission to oversee the equal employment programs of federal agencies and to investigate charges of discrimination against individuals or classes of individuals. Complaintants can ultimately file suit in federal court to seek

an end to discriminatory hiring practices. Appropriate federal statutes require the U. S. Civil Service Commission to cooperate with community groups interested these problems.

Members of the Alliance and of the Archdiocesan Latin American Committee have just started to work on the problem. Anyone who would like to join us, contact the Alliance. This comes under our Citizens Alert Project; ask for Ruth Wells.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON THE MEDIA

The Citizens Committee on the Media just sent out a collective request for air time to the 48 radio stations and 8 television stations in the metropolitan Chicago area. Over 50 topics represented by over 35 spokespersons were listed. This week the CCOM is starting to visit all the stations to talk further about the collective request and to discuss how the stations go about ascertaining community needs for programming. CCOM's seminar continues Monday evenings, 5:30 to 7:30. May 19's topic will be the effective use of video recording-playback by community groups.

COOK COUNTY SPECIAL BAIL PROJECT

Field work with the Bail Project brings in many students. More are expected this summer from several of the colleges around Chicago—working in weekday court. As weekday court expands, "Bail" is adding another staff coordinator. Anyone interested send a resume to Betty Schulte. Vols needed 7 days a week.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Rick Gutman received the Alliance's Civil Freedoms Award at the recent supper celebration of the Alliance's Fifth Anniversary. The award recognized his role in breaking the police spy story. Rick noted the sustained efforts of Val Klink, a volunteer Alliance attorney without whose diligence and ability the Red Squad suit, brought by Citizens Alert and ACLU, never would been filed.

Congressman Ralph Metcalfe keynoted the program with an analysis of the current legislative repression, especially as seen in S. 1, the administration's proposal to gather federal criminal statutes into a single code. S. 1 represents a multi-fronted assault on civil liberties. Free speech, peaceable assembly, press freedom, capital punishment, and 4th amendment privacy are among the realities at issue in S. 1. (Call us about S. 1 Workshops in your district.)

A five-year history of the Alliance was delivered by 14 persons who represented Alliance staff, Alliance founders, and current Alliance leadership. Within a few months the history will be published with photos and distributed to the various organizations and volunteers that form the Alliance constituency—and to others—as our financial contributors.

If you could not come to the supper celebration—you can still help us celebrate and push on in the coming year, by sending in the form below—with whatever you can give.

Name _____ Phones _____

Address _____
(zip)

Organization, if any _____

_____ My contribution of $ _____ is enclosed.

_____ I pledge a monthly contribution of $ _____ till I give notice.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, as a result of all of these harassments and other suits brought against the Chicago Police Department, it is true that the entire roster of police department employees with their numbers, home addresses, phone numbers, has been turned over to the plaintiffs and the press?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It's a little hard to have an undercover man when he has been publicly identified as a member of the police department, isn't it?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that certain police intelligence files have been turned over to the plaintiffs?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that the cover of all, or most of the police informants has been blown, or severely impaired?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that the police intelligence files have been impounded since the end of last March in order to protect the department against charges of the files being tampered with, pending determination of various petitions for disclosure?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. To the extent you outlined, it makes the files unavailable to the intelligence evaluators?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And has all of that, in sum, undermined the credibility of the police department in the community?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, it has.

Mr. SOURWINE. That makes intelligence work in general more difficult, does it not?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to turn to one other point, but first, Mr. Chairman, I should like to point out that the word "repression" has been pushed by the Communists for many years; they find it's a wonderful propaganda word. The Venceremos people were questioned about "repression"; they were told to identify "repressors" in their area; they were told to identify police "repressionists" and give information about all kinds of community "repression." They were, in other words, indoctrinated into using the word "repression" in all ways they could because of the semantic value involved.

We find that word running through harassment of the police departments all over the country, for years.

Now, how does this organization, the Alliance to End Repression, get its financing: do you know?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir. Counsel, could I go back, before we get to that question, to one situation that came up in particular, with identifying police informants? It ties in with the newspaper. May I make a statement regarding that?

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Mr. DORNEKER. I received a telephone call on June 5, 1975, 6:30 p.m. from Rob Warden, who is the reporter for the Chicago Daily News at my home. When I asked Mr. Warden how he came to have my home telephone number he stated that he had his sources, and that he would go along with me—if I would go along with him, he would let me know how he got my telephone number. Then Rob Warden asked me questions concerning my job. He said, "I want you to verify how long Adelle Noren and Dave Cushing have been dealing with you." Prior to that time there was no revelation that Adelle Noren and Dave Cushing were in fact undercover people for the police department. He also said,

I won't give your name, or include it in any articles, no one will know that you gave me the information. I won't give your name to the prosecutor because I know you'd like to avoid being subpenaed. I am doing a story now with my partner, Larry Green, and we need you to verify some information. Are they

paid, how long have they been filing reports, and are they still filing reports? I promise I won't "middle" you if you tell me this. We will leave your name out of the article like I never even talked to you. We can help you avoid any hassle if you help us. I have copies of your reports, some are yours alone, some are with Knox, so that you know I have the stuff. Just tell me if they are paid, or what. Cushing attended a meeting May 23, and Noren went to one on March 3, so it's hard to deny it.

I refused to answer any questions that were presented by Mr. Warden. He called me back about a half hour later, and he said, "I will read you the reports, so that you know I have some of your stuff." He then read a list of reports and the days on which they were submitted. Officer Knox was formerly my partner. So, he had reports that had his name, some had my name, and some were the work of both of us.

He read me the following:

Knox, June 1, '71; Dorneker, 24 February, '72; McWhinney, 19 January, '73; Knox and Dorneker, 6 July, '73, Phase 3 Watch Dog; Dorneker and Knox, 29 June, '72, Phase 2 Watch Dog; Dorneker and Knox, 10 April, '72; and Dorneker, December 16, 1974, No. 8569.

Which is my star number, he then quoted:

Information has been obtained that the subject held its council meeting 10 December, '74, 19:45 hours, 22 East Van Buren. The following were identified as being present at the meeting: Jack Mendelsohn, Randy Arcenas, Dick Criley, Joyce Marco, Frank McGrath, Dick Menges, Adelle Noren, Mary Powers, Frank Quinn, George Sykes, Dick Brail, and Joann Crowley.

This was in effect the beginning, or the lead of a report that I had submitted. Warden then continued:

What we want to say is, Larry is sitting back there, writing a lead right now that the surveillance of the Alliance to End Repression continued, and it continued up until as recent as two weeks ago. We know because we have documents that indicate these people were present at meetings up until that time.

I questioned him, "What people" and he said, "Dave Cushing and Adelle Noren. You tell me whether or not these people were active up until that recent time, or whether it was an older thing than that. In return for that my story will be accurate, and you are out of it. I will never mention to anybody that I ever talked to you in my life. I'll forget your name, I'll forget your address, and I'll forget your telephone number."

I questioned Mr. Warden by asking, "I'm curious as to how you got my address and phone number" and he said:

Because I happen to have a police department payroll, a computer read-out of the whole thing by departments, which gives home addresses, telephone numbers. We don't tell people that we have it, generally, we only call when it's important. The number I got for you on the read-out was CO4–4263. I'll tell you Knox's number, which is unlisted, it's 505–5550. We have access to that kind of thing.

He further stated,

We have these reports, I don't think you have done anything improper. If you confirm that little bit of story for me, it's between you and me. Reporters have a privilege law to protect them in this State, I can never be asked in court to reveal your name.

I told Mr. Warden that I was not able to confirm or deny any information that he presented to me.

Senator THURMOND. And who was he with?

Mr. DORNEKER. The Chicago Daily News.

Apparently, what Mr. Warden was trying to do was to establish a story to put the intelligence division in a bad light that we con-

tinued surveillance of the Alliance to End Repression after the superintendent gave an order not to infiltrate, or gather intelligence on this organization. The superintendent, to the best of my knowledge, did not give any such order.

I would like to submit a copy of the June 6, 1975, Daily News headline and copyrighted article by Rob Warden and Larry Green. The headline reads, "Police kept spying after Rochford ban."

[The information follows:]

[From the Chicago Daily News, June 6, 1975]

POLICE KEPT SPYING AFTER ROCHFORD BAN

HOUSEWIFE INFILTRATED CIVIC GROUP

(By Larry Green and Rob Warden)

Chicago police have continued to spy on at least one service organization despite assurances from Police Supt. James M. Rochford that such spying stopped months ago.

The organization is the Alliance to End Repression, an amalgam of 56 community and church groups that carries on various federally funded projects aimed at police, court and prison reform.

One police informant, a South Side housewife, participated in key policy-making committees within the organization until just two weeks ago.

Another, who is now a policeman, attended policy meetings up until March, when The Daily News made its initial disclosures in the police spying scandal.

The woman was identified in police files as confidential informant No. 5633. She infiltrated the Alliance in 1971 as a representative of a religious organization.

The man was identified as informant No. 3538. He infiltrated the Alliance in 1971 as a representative of a community organization that purported to be interested in racial equality.

The informants reported primarily to three officers in the intelligence division. Eugene Dorneker, Terrance Knox and William McWhinney.

Alliance director John Hill and attorney Rick Gutman found what they called "overwhelming circumstantial evidence" of the identities of the informants by analyzing a series of intelligence division reports that had been made public in connection with a lawsuit in federal court.

Only one person attended all of the meetings reported on by agent 5633, and only one attended those reported on by agent 3538, Alliance records show.

A police source acknowledged to Daily News reporters that the Alliance analysis was correct.

Hill and Gutman said Friday they have turned the informants' names over to Asst. State's Atty. Nicholas Iavarone, who is running a county grand jury investigation of police spying.

The daily news learned that Iavarone already has subpenaed the man identified by the Alliance.

The man is being represented by Warren Wolfson and Harry Busch, the criminal lawyers hired on order of Mayor Richard J. Daley to represent police involved in the scandal.

The woman has not yet been subpenaed.

Hill and Gutman also said they had written to Supt. Rochford demanding an immediate end to police infiltration of the Alliance.

Rochford, who in March had declared that police infiltration of community groups had stopped months earlier, could not be reached for comment on the latest disclosure.

Intelligence reports available through the federal court show the informants reported on meetings of the Alliance with officials of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

LEAA supplies the funds for most of the Alliance's projects.

Among the alliance's activities is a bail bond project, which is designed to provide information to help judges determine appropriate amounts of bond in criminal cases.

The Alliance also has programs to improve juvenile justice and reduce police brutality.

The intelligence reports show that the informants gave the police inside information on the Alliance's plans to file a federal suit against the police "Red Squad."

This raises questions on whether police invaded the lawyer-client relationship and possibly violated some persons' constitutional rights to legal counsel.

Similar questions were raised Thursday by G. Flint Taylor Jr. an attorney representing the Black Panthers, who charged in U.S. District Court that he and other lawyers had been the victims of police spying.

Taylor told Judge Joseph Sam Perry that intelligence documents indicate police eavesdropped on a telephone conversation between Taylor and a client in the jail in 1971.

In addition, Taylor said, documents indicate that attorney Jo-anne Wolfson was under police surveillance when she represented the Black Panthers.

Mrs. Wolfson is the wife of Warren Wolfson, who is representing the police in the current grant jury matter.

Other documents, Taylor said, indicate police intelligence agents went to New York to report on William Bender, an attorney involved with Taylor in a civil suit filed by Panthers here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I go off the record for a minute?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have anything further?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir. That many of the organizations that are involved with the Alliance to End Repression and many of the people that are involved with the Alliance to End Repression undoubtedly are good types of civic organizations or people and I don't mean to imply that all the organizations, or the affiliates are Communists, or have Communist tendencies. But there is a strong indication that a nucleus of Communists, or identified Communist persons are influencing the Alliance to End Repression, which is the umbrella type organization for these civic groups and people.

Mr. SOURWINE. To get back to my question, now. Where does the Alliance to End Repression get its funding?

Mr. DORNEKER. A large part of its funding comes from the LEAA funds.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. A U.S. agency——

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE [continuing]. Is funding a Communist front organization which is harassing the police department in Chicago?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you a question on that. Is that funding going direct to that organization, or is it turned over to some agency, and they in turn funnel it to them; who makes the decision for this particular organization to get those funds, an agency of the Federal Government, or an agency of Illinois?

Mr. DORNEKER. There is an organization, which is a subgroup of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, called the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission.

Senator THURMOND. Now, do they get the funds and then channel it to this group, or does it go directly from the LEAA in Washington to this group?

Mr. DORNEKER. To the best of my knowledge, sir, they go to the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, which is responsible for determining whether or not an organization would receive funding.

Senator THURMOND. Then, have you taken this matter up, has the police department taken it up with this agency and pointed out to

them that this is a Communist front organization; and did they know that before they channeled the funds to them?

Mr. DORNEKER. There is a group under the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, called the Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission, which the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission felt that the Chicago and Cook County area was too big of an area for them to concentrate or to evaluate the situation. So, they allowed a subgroup to be formed. The Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission is supposed to receive applications for funding, they are to screen them, do the investigatory work and then make a suggestion or recommendation to the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission. The Illinois Law Enforcement Commission then can approve, or disapprove the recommendation of this lower subgroup.

We have verified that the Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission has on occasion rejected funding of the Alliance to End Repression groups; and the Alliance to End Repression has approached the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission directly in an effort to receive funding. The Illinois Law Enforcement Commission can overrule the decision.

Senator THURMOND. And they have?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, the lower group rejecting the application, and the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission has given them funds.

There are people who are on the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission who have formerly held positions with the Alliance to End Repression.

Senator THURMOND. What does this Alliance to End Repression do to warrant receiving funding? What do they claim they do to warrant to receive law enforcement funds?

Mr. DORNEKER. They claim to be working with the court system through the Cook County special bail project, attempting to obtain court reform.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know specifically what moneys have been received by the Alliance to End Repression through this chain, from the LEAA appropriations?

Mr. DORNEKER. I have that information, but it's currently locked up in the safe, and I do not have access to that, nor the rest of——

Mr. SOURWINE. For the committee's information, Mr. Chairman, we will ask the witness to affirm that this is accurate as far as he knows, that in 1973 for the so-called bail project the Alliance got $22,152 in Federal funds from LEAA. In 1974, for the bail project, the Alliance got $38,297. In 1974 they also got $30,000 for their citizens alert project, which the witness has testified about already.

Do you know of any other allocations of LEAA funds to the alliance?

Mr. DORNEKER. Your figures sound correct. I have the information, as I said, concerning this situation, but it is locked up now.

Mr. SOURWINE. From memory you cannot say.

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of the witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much for your appearance.

Mr. DORNEKER. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. I hope we didn't shut you off.

Mr. DORNEKER. I would just say in regards to the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, there are members of the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission that did hold offices, or are still connected with the Alliance to End Repression, which gives the Alliance a very strong voice in receiving funds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, can you give us chapter and verse on how many such persons there are?

Senator THURMOND. Can you give us the names of those, furnish that information for the record here?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir. Do you want me to give you the names now?

Senator THURMOND. You can turn it over and we will insert it in the record. Without objection, that will be inserted in the record at the appropriate place.

[The material referred to follows:]

Among those persons who have been appointed to the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (I.L.E.C.) the following have been associated with the Alliance To End Repression:

Warren Wolfson, listed as member of Board of Directors of the Alliance To End Repressions Cook County Special Bail Project, July 24, 1970. Withdrew as member of Board July 1973, as he was appointed to the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission so as not to create a conflict of interest. Held meetings in his office with Cook County Special Bail Project members to advise them as late as January 1975.

James Taylor, June 1972, Taylor was a member of the Board of the Alliance To End Repressions Citizens Alert and also member of Advisory Board of the Alliances Cook County Special Bail Project.

Sgt. Arthur Lindsay, John Hill stated that when the Alliance To End Repressions project would not be funded, Sgt. Lindsay contacted him and said not to worry, that the project would be funded.

James Haddad, during meetings with Cook County States Attorney Carey, the Alliance To End Repression inquired as to who in his office the Alliance could establish as a contact. James Haddad was the contact between the Alliance To End Repression and the States Attorneys office.

COOK COUNTRY SPECIAL BAIL PROJECT

(Meeting: Wednesday, March 15, 1972 7:30 P.M., 22 East Van Buren Street, Chicago.)

From: James Zacharias, Chairman.
To: All Members of the Board of Directors.

AGENDA

Meeting Minutes of February 16 Board and March 1 Executive Committee: Joan Hoffman.
Interviewers' Statement: John Rocacz, Wayne Rusch.
Personnel Committee, Job Descriptions: Mary Powers.
Statistical Report, Plans and Accomplishment: Starr Tomaczek.
Follow Up Program, P. & A.: Jerald Westermeyer.
Court Activities and Records: Sheila Ryan.
CNA Foundation: Judith McArdle.
Funding: Joan Hoffman.
Treasurer's Report, Audit: Marian Hurley.
Executive Director's Report, 8 Points: Vance Archer.
Consultant's Report: John Hill.

COOK COUNTY SPECIAL BAIL PROJECT, ADVISORY BOARD

Gene Bear Bow, Indians for Indians, 4606 N. Kenmore, 275–3988.
Norman Boyden, Supt. of Public Instruction, 188 W. Randolph, 793–3854.
Robert Cummins, Hume Clement Hume & Lee, 1st National Bank Plaza, 726–4848.

Robert Howard, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Underlaw, 53 W. Jackson, 939–5797.
Irene Hutchenson, Hull House Uptown Center, 4520 N. Beacon.
John Hill, 22 E. Van Buren, 427–4064.
E. Duke McNeil, The Woodlawn Organization, 1135 E. 63rd St., 289–5840.
Harry Turkington, National Lawyers Guild, 939–2492.
Leo King, WTTW Television, 5400 N. St. Louis, 583–5000.
Val Klink, 176 W. Adams-Suite 1948, 726–2220.
Rev. Dick Lawrence, 8039 S. Phillips, 731–5886.
George Laronge, American Indian Center, 1630 W. Wilson, 878–3200.
Gary Palm, University of Chicago, Mandel Legal Aid Clinic, Fa 4–5181.
Ellis Reid, Cook County Bar Association, 110 S. Dearborn, 372–5438.
Garmon Velasquez, 3528 W. 72nd, 641–4598.
Stephen Schiller, Dept. of Criminal Justice, U. of I. Circle Campus, 663–5290.
Jim Taylor, Action for Survival, 4500 S. Michigan, 285–5800.
Warren Wolfson, 221 N. LaSalle, 346–0285, 822–9343.

TREASURER'S REPORT—MARCH 15, 1972

*Receipts*

| | |
|---|---|
| March 1: CLC—Woods | $1074.00 |

*Expenditures*

| | |
|---|---|
| March 1: Salaries: | |
| John Hill | 192.76 |
| Vance Archer | 517.62 |
| JoAnn Baustin | 521.51 |
| Total | 1231.89 |
| March 1: Rent | 150.00 |
| March 10: Secretary of State | 7.00 |
| Total | 1388.89 |
| Bank Balance: February 16, 1972 | 496.23 |
| Deposit: March 1 | 1074.00 |
| Total | 1570.25 |
| Less expenditures | 1388.89 |
| Balance | 181.34 |

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Ms. Clare Benford, 1007 W. Rush, Chicago, Ill.
Starr Tomozek, 927 Davis, Evanston, Ill.
Mr. Jerry Westermeyer, 1221 Lee St., Melrose Park, Ill.
Ms. Shelia Ryan, 5412 N. Lynch, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Vance Archer, 5414 S. Ingleside, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Henry Bassett, 1962 E. 71st Pl., Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Milt Cohen, 5322 S. Kimbark, Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Mary Cummins, 8919 S. Justine, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. David Cushing, 1645 West 100 Pl., Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Doris Hicks, 25 E. Chestnut, Chicago, Ill.
John Hill, Alliance to End Repression, 22 East Van Buren, Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Joan Hoffman, 5484 S. Everett, Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Marian Hurley, 5228 N. Long, Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Sylvia Kushner, 4240 N. Clarendon, Chicago, Ill.
Ms. Judi Meardle, 27 N. Cornell, Villa Park, Ill.
Mr. Dan Morris, 1400 E. 57th St., Apt. 201, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Mary Powers, 860 Lincoln Ave., Winnetka, Ill.
Mr. Wayne Rusch, 64 E. Jackson, 6th floor, Chicago, Ill.
James Zacharias, 937 Gordon Terrace, Winnetka, Ill.
Mr. John Rokacz, 64 E. Jackson, 6th floor, Chicago, Ill.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have anything else?

Mr. SOURWINE. I have two or three things. I want to get some documents identified.

Senator THURMOND. I have to go for a little while, I have some people waiting. I will be back in a little bit. Counsel, I suggest you continue, I will be back.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good.

Now, Mr. Witness, the chairman has temporarily left the room and has instructed that we go ahead. Do you have any objection to that procedure?

Mr. DORNEKER. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can't be compelled to continue. If you do continue, the testimony that you give here will be a part of the record, which you will have an opportunity to correct. After you have corrected it and returned it, it will become a part of the record submitted by you voluntarily under oath. You understand that?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen this?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us if this was circulated by the Alliance to End Repression?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was circulated generally throughout Chicago?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this may go into the record, it is headed "Alliance open letter".

[The document subsequently was ordered into the record.]

[The material referred to follows:]

# the alliance open letter

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE BY THE FOUNDERS OF THE ALLIANCE

At this moment, a qualitatively new initiative is needed to defend our freedoms, and stop repression. Toward this end, we propose the building of a unified, inclusive, action-oriented alliance of organizations of many kinds to:

1) place the defense of our basic freedoms as a top priority;
2) focus public attention on each major incident of repression, interpreting it in the light of many other such instances in order to make the emerging pattern of repression clearly visible;
3) develop the material and organizational power and resources to deal with repression at every level; and
4) enlist the support and commitment of large numbers of people, including many who until now have been passive.

Organizationally, we seek to create a flexible framework which will permit each organization to maintain its identity and autonomy, to deal with such issues as it chooses, without, however, sacrificing the ability of the Alliance to act quickly and decisively.

This structure is intended to serve as a center for coordinated action, evaluation of priorities, and exchange of relevant information and educational resources.

THE ALLIANCE TO

# the alliance open letter

Number 1

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# the year of the alliance

As 1969 came to an end, a number of events, local and national, highlighted the rapid erosion of constitutional rights. Among these were the Chicago "anti-riot" conspiracy trial, the deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a police raid on their apartment, the undermining of the civil libertarian trend in the Supreme Court in the president's designation of Judges Haynesworth and Carswell, and the plethora of repressive bills flowing into the Congress.

A score of leaders of human rights-oriented organizations reached the conclusion that a new initiative was needed to reverse the anti-libertarian trend before it undercut our freedoms beyond the point of recovery. The decision was made to launch the Alliance to End Repression.

Formative meetings were held in January, February and March of 1970 during which time the statutes of the organization were drafted and ratified. The Alliance opened its office on April 1, 1970 with John Hill and Betty Plank coordinating the collective endeavor. John had been the founding president of the Association of Chicago Priests. Betty had been director of Friendship House. A Steering Committee was formed, officers were elected, monthly Council meetings were scheduled, and the first task forces were convened.

In the first year of the Alliance some important victories were achieved. Organizations affiliated with the Alliance joined in an appeal to the Federal Appellate Court for relief from the "gag rule" that Judge Robson had imposed on the defendants known as the "Chicago 15." The Appellate Court ordered Judge Robson to vacate his ruling as overbroad. The Alliance also arranged for 67 affiliate organizations to file petitions for the appointment of a special prosecutor in the Hanrahan/Panther case. Other organizations filed similar petitions and the special prosecutor was indeed appointed.

Finally the Alliance's Task Force on Bail secured the cooperation of the Circuit Court of Cook County to introduce bail reform in the weekend Holiday Court. As a result, indigent accused persons now have legal representation at their bond hearing and the use of recognizance bonds has increased dramatically.

Currently the Alliance's Task Forces are: Bail Reform, Legislation, Jury Reform, Justice in Law Enforcement, Political Trials and Judicial Accountability.

There are about 70 groups working closely with the Alliance. Some of these are human relations groups or church organizations. Others represent persons who are the victims of repression.

Finances were a particularly acute problem during the first year of the Alliance because the organization was new and largely unknown. As it has begun to be increasingly recognized, the outline of a dependable fiscal base is becoming clear. Funds come largely from individual pledges and organizational contributions.

John Hill, executive coordinator

# the officers of the alliance

Chairman: Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, minister
First Unitarian Church of Chicago

Vice-Chairman: Joan Hoffman, of the
57th Street Meeting of Friends

Treasurer: Norman Boyden, director of
Urban Crisis Program of the National
Association of Social Workers

Secretary: Thomas Sardina, volunteer
staff of the Lawndale Peoples
Planning and Action Conference

Executive Coordinator: Rev. John Hill

Assistant Coordinator: Betty Plank

# cook county special bail project

The present bail system of Cook County negates the principles of presumption of innocence, the right to a fair trial, and due process for the poor, and is a possible source of social alienation of the innocent accused. A loss of employment income may force families onto the welfare rolls with the indignity and hardship involved, plus the increased burden to the taxpayer who then supports both the accused and his family until the time of trial.

For the past eleven months, the Bail Task Force has been directing its efforts to implementing a more comprehensive release on a recognizance program for those accused whose family, employment, or community ties indicate that they would be good risks. Insufficient legal representation and hurried bond hearings were the most immediate factors contributing to the low number of releese on recognizance bonds set.

Members of the Task Force did extensive research into the bail programs in effect in various parts of the country and hundreds of volunteers were enlisted to make observations in our courts. Attempts were made to solicit the cooperation of Judge Boyle, but he gave no encouragement toward any change in the system. Finally, after intensive observation and documentation of proceedings in Holiday Court, when it was found that on the everage weekend bail hearings lasted less than one minute and no inquiry was made regarding the financial ability of the accused, we were able to enlist the cooperation of Chief Justice Eugene Wachowski of the Municipal Division, who has met with Task Force members every week to discuss their observations of the previous weekend. There has been a gradual slowing down of the hearings and the judges have become more attentive to the financial ability and background of the accused in setting bond.

A Wieboldt Foundation grant of $8000 has been received for a ten-week pilot program in which legal representation will be available for each person coming before the bench. Senior law students will interview the accused regarding their backgrounds, while Task Force representatives will verify all possible information to be presented to the judge.

On the first weekend the program was in effect, almost all defendants were represented by attorneys and almost all bonds were recognizance bonds. The presiding judge said he was "enormously helped" by the program, and Judge Wachowski, who went to observe the program in action, said that he was "very satisfied."

These results are fulfilling the goal originally set for the Task Force at the Alliance Council meeting of April, 1970, and for which a sustained struggle was carried on for eleven months. It is hoped that the program may be expanded to the other courts eventually.

Norman Boyden, chairman

# political trials

A Political Trials Task Force has been formed by the Alliance in the wake of the two most recent politically repressive indictments initiated by the government: the Angela Davis and Berrigan-Ahmad (Harrison 6) conspiracy indictments.

Seeing the need to focus on the repressive aspects of such indictments, the Task Force for the present will not presume to judge guilt or innocence in these cases. Instead, at this juncture, it will attempt to point up the specious nature of government accusations against the accused: the belief that alleged "conspiracy" charges are simply more examples to be added to the history of usage of political trials in America.

Such conspiracy laws (patterned after British law dating from the 17th Century when Britain devised such a scheme to put down ideological foes of existing government) has been seriously put to use in this country almost since its inception. Not much is popularly known about this phase of our history, and the Task Force hopes to bring such knowledge to common light.

The gist of the Task Force's intent at this stage is to suggest that such charges and trials (and by direct inference the Davis & Berrigan-Ahmad indictments) are a means of government's putting down, through castigation and defametion, leading dissenters against governmental policy and action.

Plans are in the works for placing a full-page ad in a Chicago daily, with a general statement reflecting the above views. The plan is to solicit signetors for the ad's statement, who will make contributions defraying the cost of the ad. Reprints will be used to extend its educative value, since the community-at-large is ignorant, for the most part, of the underlying aspects behind conspiracy laws in general and the Davis-Berrigan conspiracy charges in particular. Fact sheets on both cases are being formulated also, and will be available for distribution. A speakers bureau for the Task Force is a likelihood also.

Further plans of the Task Force will be to contact the news media to provide material for editorializing, enlist support of Chicago's newspaper editors, radio and television directors, and obtain talk-show interviews. There will be a "letters-to -the-editor" campaign, encouraging Alliance members and organizations to mail a barrage of letters to Chicago dailies, attempting to further enlighten and clarify the issues. This is the second time the Alliance has convened a Political Trials Task Force to deal directly and head-on with repression as an instrument of ideological warfare conducted by the government within our country. The first Political Trials Task Force, convened shortly after the Alliance was formed last year, successfully exposed Federal Judge Robson's "gag rule" which had silenced the Chicago 15 months before their trial for burning draft records. The ruling was overturned by the higher court.

Dorothy Willey, secretary

Dorothy Willey is a volunteer worker for Friendship House

## legislation

The Legislative Task Force is in process of building a permanent coordinating structure based upon Congressional Districts and State Legislative Districts. Assignments have been made for the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 13th Districts to begin organizational work in these areas. Coordinators will be needed for all 15 Chicago area Congressional Districts and sub-coordinators for the state districts which fall within them. At least 200 active legislative workers will ultimately be needed to complete the structure.

On a national level, there will again be sharp struggles in the new Congress to defeat repressive bills already introduced, and pass several libertarian measures. The most dangerous bills in the last Congress which failed passage – like the Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act -- have been re-introduced. In a renewed drive to repeal the Detention Act, 25 senators and 112 congressman have co-sponsored repeal bills.

On a state level, Senator Horsley, chairman of the commission to purportedly investigate "campus unrest," has introduced a sheaf of repressive bills. Other repressive measures, and some positive ones--like Sen. Newhouse's bill to repeal the "stop-and-frisk" law -- will require action soon.

All persons interested in legislative work, please send your names (with your Congressional District and State Legislative District indicated) to the Alliance office.

Legislative Bulletins on federal and state legislation will soon be issued.

A fact sheet on the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's report on "subversion" in the Lincoln Park area of Chicago's north side is available. The SISS report is a serious attack upon the right of dissent of many community groups and churches which have worked for programs for poor people and minorities in the areas.

Dick Criley, secretary

Richard Criley is executive director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights

## jury reform

The task force is looking into the process of jury selection in order to find out why our juries are predominantly white, middle class and middle age. The present system draws jurors from the list of registered voters. This is required by Illinois law, and can be changed only by new legislation.

Tom PoinDexter has pointed out two factors that mitigate against adequate numbers of jurors from black precincts. One is the relatively higher mobility in the poorer areas of the black community. The other is the proportionately higher numbers of "ghost" voters on these precinct lists. A questionnaire sent to either of these groups as their names come up in the random selection draws a "no return" and an empty spot in the geographical representation.

We are therefore exploring all possible ways of shifting from use of registered voter lists to some more inclusive source of names. The possibility of using a combination of the print-outs of the Internal Revenue Service and the Cook County Department of Public Aid lists for the zip codes in Cook County is being investigated by several task force members. If it turns out to be practically feasible, it will still be a formidable political struggle to get it accepted.

In the meantime we are trying to plug another gap in our knowledge. Judy Mott is working to get a copy of the rules laid down by the judges of the Circuit court for the operation of the Jury Commission. We are moving toward a meeting with Judge Ward. We also are asking all member organizations in the Alliance to poll their membership concerning their jury experience.

Bob Mueller, chairman

Rev. Robert Muetler is pastor of the West Side Christian Parish

## justice in law enforcement

The newly reconstituted and renemed Task Force for Justice in Law Enforcement is now focussing on two concrete actions:

1. Abolition of Corner's Inquest; substitution of a Medical Examiner

   Background: The Coroner's Inquest is an un-needed holdover from ancient times, duplicating the functions of the State's Attorney. In practice it serves two purposes —— as an automatic white-wash of police responsibility in cases where civilians are killed, and as a reservoir for political patronage jobs.
   Its procedures are not bound by the rules of evidence or due process, making it an instrument for politically dictated verdicts.
   The federal grand jury which investigated the State's Attorney's raid which resulted in the killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was particularly critical of the performance of the coroner's jury, and suggested its ebolition. All four major Chicago daily newspapers have urged that this be done.
   The Task Force will seek introduction and passage of legislation by the State Legislature to abolish the coroner's office and substitute a medical examiner, whose sole function will be to determine the physical cause of death.

2. Investigation of Police raids

   Background: On Jan. 21, 1971, the Sun-Times carried a story outlining the substance of a new police training bulletin on police raids. It appears to make raids similar to that in the Hampton-Clark killing a standing operating procedure of the police department.
   The question of the bulletin was taken up before the Board of Police at its Feb. 11 meeting. Chairman Kreml took the position that since this was a purely "administrative" matter, it should be taken up with the Superintendent of Police. The Task Force, while not agreeing that this is not the responsibility of the Board, will now seek an appointment with Superintendent Conlisk. Further action will depend upon the outcome of this meeting.

To implement these two actions, the Task Force can now use a large number of active members for a variety of jobs —— research, observers at coroner's inquests, liaison workers to contact community organizations, and lobbyists.
A third action being planned will be directed toward repeal of the Illinois "stop-and-frisk" law. Sen. Newhouse is expected to re-introduce a bill to abolish this repressive practice.

Tom PoinDexter, chairman

## judicial accountability

During the next month or so, members of the Task Force on Judicial Accountability will visit representatives of various organizations, bar associations and law schools to describe the project we're about to embark on —— and also to get their advice and help. The project will involve intensive observing of judges now sitting in the Criminal Division of the Cook County Circuit Court, particularly seven or eight who will be on the retention ballot in 1972. Data will be compiled on their judicial practices, to be used as the basis of a county-wide educational campaign.
The purpose of the Task Force is to create a sense of accountability to the public by people on the bench, and a sense of responsibility by those who nominate, assign and supervise them. Our purpose also is to encourage people and organizations to take actions as citizens when their public servants in the judiciary are not performing with fairness and justice. We intend to give them hope that something can be done.
We will focus on two or three of the judges who are the most incompetent, the most unjust; judges whose rules appear to be influenced by clout, or money, or prejudice or whim; judges who use their power irresponsibly. We will document their inconsistencies and mount a public campaign to get them off the bench.

This project will involve the public in judicial selection, and also take the process down town to bring the people who assign judges under public scrutiny.
The Task Force will begin by going to such organizations as the Independent Voters of Illinois, Independent Precinct Organization, Committee on Illinois Government, Chicago Bar Association, Cook County Bar Association, Chicago Lawyers Guild, Chicago Council of Lawyers, American Civil Liberties Union, and the deans of the four law schools at the University of Chicago, Northwestern, Loyola and DePaul.
We will ask their advice on who to watch and what to watch for. Judges have great discretionary powers, and some judges demonstrate glaring inconsistencies. We need to find out what are the areas of power that judges can abuse which are detrimental to a defendant's human and civil rights. We need observers to watch them every time they are sitting through the spring and summer —— and to keep a diary.

Ann Seng, cheirmen

Sister Ann Seng is a staff member of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

7

# the angela davis case

## BACKGROUND: ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Angela Davis, a 27—year—old Black scholar, first became the object of wide-spread publicity when her position as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles was challenged by Governor Ronald Reagan and the University's Board of Regents. Her membership in the Communist Party was revealed in a hearing of the Subversive Activities Control Board —— a fact she readily admitted. Over the objections of the UCLA student body, the faculty and the administration, she was fired in an unprecedented action by the Board of Regents. Her suit contending that political affiliation per se does not constitute lawful grounds for dismissal is pending before the California State Supreme Court.

As a consequence of the heated public controversy, Miss Davis alleges that she received a number of threats to her life. She purchased firearms, and in February, 1970, accepted the services of a volunteer bodyguard, Jonathan Jackson, younger brother of George Jackson, one of the "Soledad Brothers."

## INVOLVEMENT IN THE CASE OF THE "SOLEDAD BROTHERS"

Early in 1970, controversy erupted over murder charges placed against three Black inmates of California's Soledad Prison, who became subsequently known as the "Soledad Brothers." Their defense committee has charged that virulent racial prejudice on the part of prison authorities was at the root of the prosecution. Miss Davis became actively and publicly involved in the defense effort. When defense attorneys succeeded in getting the trial moved to San Francisco, the three "Soledad Brothers" were transferred from Soledad to San Quentin Prison in the Bay area.

## THE ATTEMPTED KIDNAPPING AT MARIN COUNTY COURT HOUSE

On August 7, Jonathan Jackson entered the Marin County courtroom of Judge Harold J. Haley, where the trial of a San Quentin prisoner was in progress. He held up the courtroom at gun-point, handed weapons to the defendant, and to Ruchell Magee and another prisoner who were present as witnesses. Taking with them the judge, district attorney and three jurors as hostages, the four attempted to escape in a Ford van. Jackson was alleged to have shouted as he left the courtroom that the hostages would be freed in return for the release of the "Soledad Brothers."

Guards and police opened fire as the van attempted to pull away. In the melee, Jackson, two of the escaping prisoners and Judge Haley were killed on the spot. Magee and one juror were wounded. The coroner's testimony stated that Judge Haley was killed by two shots, both fatal, striking him simultaneously —— one by a shotgun held by an escapee, the other from a guard's rifle. The firearms brought into the courtroom by Jackson were traced to Angela Davis and a warrant was issued for her arrest. She was apprehended in New York City on October 13, 1970.

## THE INDICTMENT: CHARGES AND ALLEGED OVERT ACTS

The indictment charges Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee with three felonies: (1) kidnapping with the intent to hold hostages for ransom or extortion; (2) the murder of Judge Haley; and (3) conspiracy with the deceased Jonathan Jackson and "persons unknown" to commit kidnapping and murder, to escape by force and violence from prison custody, and to rescue from lawful custody the three "Soledad Brothers."

The overt acts charged against Angela Davis are: (1) attendance at a rally for the freedom of the "Soledad Brothers" in Los Angeles on June 9, 1970; (2) purchase of a Browning automatic pistol in Los Angeles, Jan. 12,1968; (3) purchase of a carbine in Los Angeles, April 7, 1969; (4) purchase of a carbine in Los Angeles, July 25, 1970; (5) attempting to visit George Jackson in San Quentin, accompanied by Jonathan Jackson, Aug. 4, 1970; (6) accompanying Jonathan Jackson to San Quentin when the latter visited his brother, Aug. 5, 1970; (7) purchase of a shotgun in San Francisco, Aug. 5, 1970;

(8) being in the vicinity of the Marin County Court House with Jonathan Jackson on Aug. 6, 1970; overt acts (9) (10) (11) and (12) relate to incidents of the kidnapping when Miss Davis was not present; (13) taking a plane from San Francisco to Los Angeles on the afternoon of Aug. 7, 1970.

## ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THE GRAND JURY

Testimony to the grand jury establishes that all of the purchases of firearms were made by Angela Davis after providing identification papers, date and place of birth, residence, physical description and her signature. When taking the plane to Los Angeles, she identified herself and paid with a personal check. Her support for the defense of the "Soledad Brothers," however distasteful to the California state administration, was public and clearly within her rights under the First Amendment. By itself, each of the overt acts alleged was unquestionably legal.

There is no evidence that she was in the vicinity of the attempted kidnapping. There is no evidence of any concealment or subterfuge in any of her actions prior to the issuance of a warrant for her arrest. There is no direct evidence showing prior knowledge of the kidnap attempt or intent to assist it. The law requires that prior knowledge and intent be proved beyond a reasonable doubt and to the exclusion of any other reasonable explanation for her actions.

## SOME OTHER LEGAL QUESTIONS IN THE DAVIS CASE

Under the California murder statute, any complicity is subject to the maximum penalty of death. Aside from questions of the fairness of this law, why has the prosecution also found it necessary to bring in the additional charge of "conspiracy"? Is it because the conspiracy law is a device which advantages the prosecution when clear evidence of guilt is lacking?

What evidence is there that a conspiracy existed, when the state is compelled to charge that (other than the deceased Jonathan Jackson) it consisted of "persons unknown"?

In the absence of any direct evidence of prior knowledge and intent, did the grand jury have probable cause to legally justify the indictment of Angela Davis? In the light of the lack of evidence on the crucial issue, can the court legally refuse to permit her release on reasonable bail or recognizance?

## PREJUDICIAL TREATMENT OF ANGELA DAVIS

While Miss Davis was being sought (prior to the issuance of the indictment), the FBI placed her on the "Ten Most Wanted List", declaring her to be "armed and dangerous." This received nationwide publicity and appears highly prejudicial to a fair and impartial trial.

While Miss Davis was imprisoned in New York, pending her extradition to California, she was held in solitary confinement and denied all ordinary privileges including access to reading materials. Only after her desperate recourse to a hunger strike were these special conditions rescinded.

The record of her long struggle for the right to teach at UCLA clearly establishes the prejudice of California state authorities against her political beliefs as a Black radical. Her removal from her teaching post by the Reagan-appointed Board of Regents had been widely condemned by the academic and Black communities and appears to violate California court rulings. Her exposure of the deplorable, racist conditions in Soledad Prison was embarrassing to the Reagan Administration. To what degree is the prosecution of these criminal charges against Angela Davis motivated by highly political considerations.

Will the record bear out the validity of Angela Davis' statement (11/10/70) ?

> "Ronald Reagan and the State of California having first demanded my job because I was a member of the Communist Party, are now demanding my life. Why? Not because I am guilty of the framed-up charge for which there is no evidence whatever, but rather because, in their warped vision, a person who is a revolutionary is a priori a criminal.'

—from Task Force on Political Trials
Harold Quigley, chairman

# conspiracy: the star chamber law

In England, a long time ago, when the king wanted to get rid of somebody, whenever a political disturber was in someone's way, they brought into the Star Chamber Court of London a charge of conspiracy. The irrational law of conspiracy is one of our least admirable legacies from those long ago times. We are not supposed to have political trials in America, but we have them, and when we do, conspiracy inevitably surfaces as the prosecutor's deadly tool. I define political trials in the classical sense as those where the fundamental offense of the accused is their hostility toward the existing political system. We must ask ourselves why these prosecutions are brought, and we must think ourselves into a world both strange and frightening.

The conspiracy prosecution of Dr. Benjamin Spock, William Coffin and others was a national disgrace. Its genesis, its intended impact and the manner in which it was conducted degraded our system of justice.

Though the convictions were overturned, there was no sign that those in authority were learning any lessons. We couldn't afford more such trials, but we could anticipate them, and sure enough, along came the Chicago Conspiracy Seven debacle -- a real mess, a reckless squandering of the legitimacy of our legal order, lawless by that legal order's own professed standards.

Now we have Angela Davis incarcerated for conspiracy in California. And Eqbal Ahmad, Father Philip Berrigan and several other priests and a nun indicted for conspiracy in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

In accordance with our system of jurisprudence, I assume all of these to be innocent until proven otherwise. I am not saying that because they are being prosecuted under the law of conspiracy, they are automatically endowed with special qualities of wisdom or innocence. I am saying that the use of this ancient tool of tyranny to prosecute them is suspect, and I will try to explain why.

The workings of the law of conspiracy are as mysterious to the lay mind as the workings of Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty. While an expert is explaining it, there are glimmerings of understanding, but an hour later the understanding has turned to mist. Defending oneself against a charge of conspiracy is like finding an antidote for a poison you cannot identify.

Take the word of experts. Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson called conspiracy "that elastic, sprawling and pervasive offense ...so vague that it almost defies definition." From a legal text book, we have the pedantic opinion that "In the long category of crimes there is none more difficult to confine within the boundaries of definitive statement than conspiracy." An English authority lugubriously informs us: "No intelligible definition of 'conspiracy' has yet been established." The California legislature reduced the whole question to absurdity by describing the crime in terms of itself. Says the California Penal Cole: "Conspiracy defined: If two or more persons conspire to commit any crime. . ."

A conspiracy, then, is a conspiracy.

Ever since the Star Chamber doctrine of conspiracy was laid down in 1611, the essence of the crime lies not in a crime committed, but in an alleged agreement to plan a crime. Thus conspiracy law relieves the prosecutor of proving any actual wrongdoing. As Clarence Darrow of blessed memory phrased it, if a boy steals candy, he has committed a misdemeanor. If two boys plan to steal candy but don't do it, they are guilty of a conspiracy, a felony.

By virtue of this far-out reasoning, conspiracy has long been the darling of prosecutors bent on legally roughing up union organizers, radicals, political dissenters, opponents of government policies, and assorted abrasive personalities who could not otherwise be sealed legally into a prison.

One of the earliest Star Chamber outrages in America was the 1806 conspiracy case against Philadelphia journeymen shoemakers. The court ruled that because the journeymen shoemakers went on strike for higher wages, thus agreeing to "withold their labors" from their masters, they were guilty of criminal conspiracy.

Not until the days of the New Deal did legislation put an end to using conspiracy law as a lethal weapon against labor unions.

Senator Joseph McCarthy's heyday let loose a major revival of conspiracy law. In 1948, the leaders of the Communist Party were hauled before the bar of justice, under the Smith Act, and charged with "conspiracy to advocate" the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence. Mark you, these defendants were not charged with committing acts of violence; they were not charged with advocating acts of violence. Their sin was still another step removed. They were charged with conspiring to advocate acts of violence at some unnamed time in the future. And one by one, though, by today's standards, a tame and mellow lot, they were convicted. The slow grindings of the appeals courts and the Supreme Court eventually reversed most of the convictions, but always on technicalities. The fundamentally odious doctrine of conspiracy emerged unscratched.

The Rosenbergs, husband and wife, went to their deaths, and Morton Sobell was sentenced to prison for thirty years, not as widely believed, for espionage, but for conspiracy to commit espionage. No proof was ever submitted that they actually transmitted atomic secrets to the Russians. To this day the Supreme Court has declined to review their cases.

When we lay people are initiated into the implausible rites and mysteries of conspiracy law, we feel that we have been suddenly severed from all preconceived definitions and notions of how justice and due process are supposed to work. Think then of how it must feel to be accused of conspiracy, to find oneself all at once stripped of many of the procedural safeguards available to a defendant in an ordinary criminal case.

Accusations of crime are normally required to be specific as to time and place. In conspiracy cases, the prosecutor is allowed an exaggerated latitude.

Each accused member of a conspiracy is automatically liable for the statements and actions of every other member, whether or not he is aware of what they said and did.

The overt acts cited in a conspiracy indictment may be entirely innocent -- a telephone call, a social gathering, a chance encounter. No matter. A conspiracy may be proved by evidence that is admissable only upon assumption that a conspiracy existed. In other words, the law is stood on its head. The defendant has to prove that he is innocent.

By the law of conspiracy, the vast complexity of our times, the painfully disjointed nature of reality, can be reduced to banal repression. When we cannot comprehend current events, or do not wish to, we cry conspiracy. To the extent that we are able, we must work for an end to this cruel, tyrannical resort to magic in place of justice. We must penetrate the cheap allure of conspiracy in our thinking and in our law.

Jack Mendelsohn, chairman of the Alliance

# prisons

"Most prisoners should not be in prison; most prisons should not exist." That was the claim heard most often by the 70–90 people attending a conference on prisons February 5–6, sponsored by a number of groups including the AFSC, CADRE, Help for Imprisoned War Objectors, and the Alliance to End Repression.

The conference provided a forum for letting ex-prisoners speak for themselves, describing American prisons from the standpoint of those who know them best. All agreed that prisons dehumanize rather than rehabilitate, that conditions inconceivable in a civilized society are the norm, that life in prison is the worst possible preparation for life on the outside. Parole boards are arbitrary, ex-prisoners said, rewarding dependent behavior which robs prisoners of the self-reliance necessary to function in society, while ignoring factors such as in-prison job training. Upon release, prisoners are often given a useless set of clothes and $50 on which to live while searching for a job and waiting to be paid. Then the authorities wonder why so many ex-cons return so quickly. Ex-prisoners cited the relation of racism to the prison system, noting for instance the fact that the percentage of blacks in Illinois prisons has soared from 25% to 65% in the last thirty years. Various prison "reforms" also came under attack. David Greenberg of CADRE noted that the much-praised California system of indeterminate sentences results in longer sentences and more prisoners, but no change in recidivism or crime rate.

Afternoon workshops stressed a number of attempts to secure legal and human rights throughout the prison and court system. Alliance representatives described the Courtwatching and Bail projects. Former prisoners explained ex-convict-run efforts to provide help and jobs for newly-released men and women. A Black Panther Party representative discussed their transportation program for families of men in downstate prisons.

A number of continuing projects were discussed by participants. Anyone interested in participating or in receiving more information can contact "Umbrella" (an organization coordinating prison-related efforts) at AV 3–6262, David Finke at AFSC, HA 7–2533, or Dave Greenberg at 288–5235. Dave Greenberg is also a contact for groups wishing speakers or panels from the ex-prisoners' speakers' bureau. And, of course, all related Alliance projects are constantly in need of new participants. The prison conference was held in the Hyde Park Union Church.

Mike Stone

Mike Stone is a graduate student at the University of Chicago Divinity School and staff member of the Christian Century magazine

# jane kennedy is 'too dangerous' for parole

**CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Mon., Mar. 1, 1971**

**By Tom Fitzpatrick**

Miss Jane Kennedy, 44, was once the assistant director of nursing for research and studies at Billings Hospital.

Now Miss Kennedy is imprisoned in the Detroit House of Correction in a maximum security cottage reserved for inmates who are considered dangerous.

Miss Kennedy, who holds a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania and who has taught at the universities of Pennsylvania and Kentucky and at Loyola University, recently was awarded a new honor by the warden of the prison.

"She's the most troublesome prisoner I've come in contact with in more than 40 years," said Warden W. H. Bannon.

The Michigan parole board must share warden Bannon's views. Recently, when Miss Kennedy came up for parole they decided to deny her any relief from her indeterminate sentence for another 18 months—a truly unusual holdover for a prisoner not charged with a violent crime.

Just what is it that Miss Kennedy has done? Why is she considered such a dangerous person?

**WELL, IT'S A FAIRLY LONG STORY,** but it's an important one.

The Jane Kennedy story shows what happens to people who put their lives on the line because they believe the war in Vietnam is an evil thing and that it must be stopped.

It all began several years ago when Jane Kennedy went to hear a lecture given by an anti-war priest.

"Go home tonight," the priest concluded," and ask yourself what you have actually done to halt the war in Vietnam."

Jane asked herself that question and decided that she hadn't done anything.

So she joined a group that called itself Beaver 55. It included seven others who wanted to do something about stopping the war, no matter what the consequences might be to themselves.

**THE GROUP TOOK PART** in two anti-war actions. On Oct. 31, 1969, it raided an Indianapolis draft board and destroyed all the 1-A files. A week later it went to Midland, Mich., broke into the Dow Chemical Co. plant and destroyed computer tapes on defoliants.

Five members of the group held a press conference in Midland two weeks later—during Moratorium week — and admitted their part in the two raids. They were arrested immediately.

Jane and her four companions pleaded guilty to the Dow raid and were sentenced to serve from a year and a day to four years. They were also convicted for the Indianapolis raid and sentenced to four years each and ordered to pay $5,000 fines.

The second conviction is being appealed, but Jane is still serving time in the Detroit House of Correction for the Dow raid.

Recently, Jane and her four companions went before the parole board. David Williams, 20; Marty McNamara, 21, both of Chicago; Michael Donner, 22, of Midland, and Tom Trost, 37, of St. Paul, were granted their paroles and are about to be freed.

Jane's parole was turned down and, as it stands now, she must wait another 18 months before she will get another hearing.

Why? Here's how Jane explained it in a letter to her brother Philip, a member of the Alexian Brothers, a Roman Catholic order, who is stationed here in Chicago:

"It is perfectly predictable in view of what is happening to the Berrigans. (Philip and Daniel Berrigan, anti-war Catholic priests, are brothers serving sentences for destroying draft records.) It is clear that there are nothing but political considerations involved. . . .

"All of the inmates and many of the personnel were astounded, because an 18 month flop is almost unheard of. As one matron said, 'I couldn't figure out what you had possibly done.' "

**PERHAPS THE BIGGEST THING** that Jane Kennedy had done to show the parole board she was still "dangerous" was to smuggle out a letter to the National Catholic Reporter telling of conditions in the Marion County Jail in Indianapolis, where she was held for 24 days before being shipped to the Detroit House of Correction.

Jane's article, which appeared last November, brought about a revocation of her rights to see anyone other than immediate relatives. It also resulted in a curtailment of her right to send letters.

In her article, Jane described unsanitary conditions, poor medical service, insufficient diet and arbitrary punishments handed out to inmates solely at the whim of prison guards.

The publication of the article marked Jane as a force to be reckoned with. She was obviously willing to rock the boat even thought she was under the thumb of the very people who could easily avenge themselves without anyone ever becoming the wiser.

**JANE MUST HAVE KNOWN** that prison authorities were not going to be happy when she wrote, for example:

"Suddenly, unexpectedly, the incredible newness of danger erupted into consciousness. Four women were called out of the cellblock in rapid succession. About three dozen of us remained in the large dormitory area and waited for their return.

"A half hour passed. An hour. Then murmurs.

"Then came a muffled scream from the bowels of the prison. 'That's Penny! Shh, listen! They're taking them to the hole.'

"At last our fears were confirmed. But why? What had they done? Until we learned the answer to that question, how were we to guard against being sent to the hole for the same unknowing offense? All that night we lived near the abyss of the unimaginable."

Warden Bannon expressed his exasperation over Jane Kennedy as a prisoner Sunday afternoon.

**"SHE'S ALWAYS INVOLVED** in mischief here," warden Bannon said. "She keeps telling everybody she's a political prisoner. I've been in prison work more than 40 years and I've never seen anything like her.

"Every time she's told something to do she always has to ask why. She's like a lot of those people who want peace and think they can tear up other people's property.

"Just the other day, she started a lot of trouble about the dentist we have here. She said that the prisoners didn't like the dentist and wanted a new one.

"It was her idea that they had a right to pick their own dentist because he was working on their teeth. Well, that's none of their business. We pick the dentist we want."

Warden Bannon said that Jane is in a way a symbol of the things that are taking place in prisons today.

"In the old days we'd have people in here who were strictly murderers or robbers. Now we're getting these protesters in and all they want to do is change things. Hell, they're supposed to be prisoners and here they are trying to run things. It's a lot of baloney."

Warden Bannon does admit, however, that Jane has a right to feel badly about being passed over for parole.

"I can see her side of it," he said. "The other four men got paroled out of Jackson prison and she's staying for another 18 months. I can see why she'd be a little mad. I would be, too.

"But that's the parole board'a job. They do their own thinking."

According to letters sent by Jane, the parole board decided to pass her over because she gave the wrong answer when she was asked whether she would engage in similar actions in the future.

"I talked about the fact that I didn't know if I would do it again," Jane wrote, "and that I could make no promise not to because it would depend upon what was happening in society.

"I told them that I wanted orderly social change but that certain practices were totally unacceptable. Our killing one another is wrong. All else is possible if life exists but nothing (is possible) if it does not."

It apparently was for this answer that the parole board decided that Jane Kennedy was too dangerous to be released from prison in a free society.

# the chicago 15

Upon its formation, one of the first actions of the Alliance was the filing of an amicus curiae brief in the case of the Chicago 15 (anti-war protestors who burned draft files in May, 1969) As a result, Chief Judge Edwin Robson's pre-trial "gag rule" imposed on the defendents and their lawyers was overturned by the U.S. Court of Appeals. We believe Alliance members will be interested in knowing what has happened to the 15 since their trial last May and June.

Of the eleven members of the 15 who appeared for trial in the first week of May, 1970 (four others —— John Loll, John Phillips, John Pietra and Tom Smit —— had gone underground previously), only seven remained for sentencing in June. Judge Robson declared Ed Hoffmans, 32, mentally incompetent to stand trial and ordered him to the federal medical prison at Springfield, Mo., until able to be tried. Found competent shortly after his arrival, Ed was freed on bond Aug. 21. On Nov. 16, in return for a sentence of three years and no probation, Ed pleaded guilty. He began serving the sentence Jan. 8 and is now at the Sandstone, Minn., federal prison.

During the last week of the trial, three defendents went underground. Linda Quint, 23, and Nicholas Riddell, 40, are still at large. On Dec. 17, Charlie Muse, 23, walked into the Seattle federal marshall's office and turned himself in. On Jan. 8 Judge Robson told him, "You are not deserving of any mercy from this court." —— and sentenced him to 10 years in prison.

Seven other defendents received five year sentences and are serving them in federal prisons. Joe Mulligan, a 27 year old Jesuit, Fred Chase, 26, from Detroit, and Chuck Fullenkamp, 24, from Milwaukee, are at Sandstone. Joe and Chuck work in the kitchen and Fred is a baker. All were involved in a strike last August over the wages paid prisoners for their work, and did time in the hole and lost their good time for that protest. Joe, who is continuing his theological studies in prison and even gave a sermon at Sunday Mass, went up for parole in October and received a one year set-back. Chuck (he's continuing his yoga studies) and Fred have not gone up before the parole board yet. Shortly after 24—year—old Margaret Katroscik arrived at the federal women's prison at Alderson, W. Va., her father died; she was permitted to attend the funeral in Detroit alone. Margaret teaches G.E.D. and also is doing some art work. Appearing before the parole board last September, she received a ten month set-back to July, 1971. Bill Sweeney's father also died shortly after his arrival at the federal prison at El Reno, Okla., and he too was permitted to attend the funeral, but only with the accompaniment of two marshals at a cost of $600 raised by the Chicago 15 Defense Committee. In the fall, he and Bill Durkin, both 21 and both from Milwaukee, were transferred by a six-week trip through various prisons to Ashland, Ky. They went before the parole board in December and hope to be released by January, 1972. They both work in the educational unit at Ashland, along with Ed Gargan, 20, who's been at Ashland since July. Ed was interrupted in his Chinese course by a Dec. 8 court appearance in Madison, Wisc., at which he pleaded guilty to having refused to register for the draft when he turned 18. On Jan. 5, he was sentenced to 15 months, to be served concurrently with the five-year sentence. Ed went before the parole board in October and received a set-back to December of 1971.

The 15 may receive mail from anyone, although there are restrictions on whom they write to. If anyone would care to write to them, their addresses are as follows:

Joe Mulliagn 8290
Fred Chase 8291
Chuck Fullenkamp 8282
Edward C. Hoffmans

Federal Correctional Institution
Box 1000
Sandstone, Minnesota 55072

William P. Sweeney 35869
William A. Durkin 35870
Ed Gargan 18436 M

Federal Correctional Institution
Box 888
Ashland, Kentucky 41101

Margaret Ann Katroscik

Federal Women's Prison
Box A
Alderson, West Virginia 24910

Charlie Muse will probably be sent to either Danbury, Connecticut or Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

# america is hard to find

"America Is Hard To Find," the Berrigan Festival recording of imprisoned poet Father Daniel Berrigan, is being sold to raise money for resistance movements in Chicago and the Midwest. Father Dan recites some of his poetry on one side. A Rock Mass is on the other side. The record costs $5.00.

The money goes to such movements as the Sandstone, Minn. (Federal Prison) Coffeehouse Organizing Committee, defense and appeal funds for the Chicago 15, Beaver 55, Minnesota Eight, Pontiac Four and other resistance needs. To order the record, make check payable to SONS & BROTHERS and mail to Box 282, Western Springs, Ill. 60558.

# REPRESSION IN AMERICA

Political trials - guilty until proven innocent
Computerized data bank on 25 million Americans
Unequal justice without due process of law
Electronic eavesdropping
"No-knock" police raids • Preventive detention
Inquisitorial legislative committees
Concentration camps for Americans

The Alliance to End Repression -- offers a program of action to reverse this trend toward a police state.

# HEAR
## THE HONORABLE
# RAMSEY CLARK

Former Attorney General of the United States

## SATURDAY, MARCH 27th · 3PM
## ST. JAMES EPISCOPAL CATHEDRAL

Huron & Wabash

Parking lot: One block east of the Cathedral
CTA: Chicago Ave. subway station
Broadway and Michigan Ave. bus lines

Admission: $2.00 - Get tickets in advance

THE ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

431 S. DEARBORN ST.
CHICAGO, ILL. 60605
RM. 1126 427-4064

Mr. SOURWINE. I have a document which begins with a quotation from Henry Steele Commager, it is identified as having been issued in the summer of 1972. Was that circulated generally, in Chicago, by the Alliance to End Repression?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I offer this for the record.

[The document subsequently was ordered into the record.]

[The material referred to follows:]

'Not since Senator Joseph McCarthy whipped up popular frenzy against the threat of Communism in high places have we suffered an attack upon our freedom as formidable as that which is now underway.'

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Chicago Sun Times, March 19, 1972

# CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK

When a repressive government finds itself unable to amend or repeal constitutional rights, it can nevertheless create those circumstances that make it virtually impossible for people to exercise those rights. This systematic assault on freedom is repression. Rights become meaningless.

## RIGHT OF PROTEST

The Administration is trying to revive the moribund Subversive Activities Control Board used in Joe McCarthy days to hunt down political dissenters.

## RIGHT TO KNOW

So essential in a democracy where government derives just authority only from an informed people, this right is being eroded by Administration policies. The government has asserted the right to examine the notes of reporters. The government has attempted to force one of the networks to surrender its tapes on "The Selling of the Pentagon." In Illinois an attempt is being made to repeal the Open Meeting Act which permits citizens to observe the processes of their government.

## TRIAL BY JURY

The Supreme Court has ruled that unanimous jury verdicts are not always necessary to convict a defendant.

## DUE PROCESS

The government has supported stop and frisk policies, unauthorized bugging, preventive detention (locking up a "dangerous" person before he is found guilty) and "no knock" laws (which permit police to raid without a search warrant). These policies negate the rights of presumption of innocence, reasonable bail, freedom from illegal search and seizure, all of which are an important part of due process.

## ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

The Alliance is a coalition of fifty organizations -- church, human relations, civil liberties, and community -- working against REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION and a CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM that disregards constitutional rights.

THE ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION started in early 1970. The rising threat to civil liberties got us together. The Conspiracy Trial was in progress. State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan's raiders had killed Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. President Nixon was trying to appoint Haynesworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court. There were too many fires going on for the full time civil liberties agencies. A new quality of defense was needed -- a broad-based people's movement to reverse the trend toward authoritarian government.

We soon learned from the poor, the young, minorities and the dissenter groups who came to us how deeply entrenched repression was in the whole process of legal and criminal justice. So Task Forces were formed to deal with these issues.

New Task Forces were formed as new issues became apparent and we could mobilize the resources to work on them. Today these include: Bail Reform, Prisons, Police-Community Problems, Jury Reform, Political Trials, Media Repression, Repressive Legislation, Reform of the Coroner's Office and Civil Rights in Cairo, Illinois. An ad hoc Task Force on Surveillance is gathering information for a Federal suit against the Chicago "Red Squad." Another one, educating the public on the repressive record of State's Attorney Hanrahan will be in full swing this summer. In addition, the Alliance has scheduled an Organizers Week this summer to help train those in other cities to develop and organize similar operations to change repressive institutions in their communities.

## WHAT THE ALLIANCE HAS DONE

Our Cook County Special Bail Project has provided legal representation for thousands of indigent defendants, reduced the jail population by hundreds saving taxpayers thousands of dollars each day. A criminology professor who has studied the project has said that it is possibly the only part of the local criminal justice system that is working well.

We helped secure the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. The repeal authorized the closing down of four concentration camps in this country.

And some other achievements of the Alliance to End Repression as noted in the press:

"(Coroner) Dr. Toman announced plans for rehabilitating his office after the Alliance to End Repression complained to the Cook County Board that there are 'serious problems in the Coroner's Office'."

DAILY DEFENDER, November 17, 1971

"Coroner Andrew J. Toman merits applause for his plan to reform his office procedures and seek legislation in Springfield abolishing coroner's juries in Cook County. The changes closely parallel those proposed in a Northwestern University study and backed by the Alliance to End Repression which was also active in the bail bond reform movement."

Editorial, CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, December 22, 1971

"(The Alliance to End Repression) made a successful effort to convince the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold hearings in Cairo, Illinois."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, May 4, 1972

"The Chicago Police Board voted... to make available to the public general orders and regulations of the police department... The disclosure policy was sought by the Alliance to End Repression."

CHICAGO SUN TIMES, February 19, 1972

"The petition requesting the action (appointment of a special grand jury in Hanrahan/Panther case) was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and joined by the Alliance to End Repression."

DAILY DEFENDER, November 17, 1971

"The Chicago Police Board has agreed to consider having a civilian work with the department's Internal Affairs Division, which investigates police misconduct. The board appointed a subcommittee to study the suggestion which came from the Alliance to End Repression at a board meeting Friday."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, February 18-20, 1972

"Another benefit (putting a civilian in the police department's Internal Affairs Division) pointed out by the Alliance to End Repression might be improved relations between the police and the black community."

Editorial, CHICAGO TODAY, February 25, 1972

## STYLE OF THE ALLIANCE

...support of its organizations
...knowledgeable involvement at public meetings
...familiarity with laws
...litigation
...cooperation with other organizations
...political education
...carrying a project through to completion
...collective intelligence

Organizations wishing to join the **ALLIANCE** should contact us or write for information

**Chairman** REV. JACK MENDELSOHN, First Unitarian Church of Chicago **Vice-Chairmen** JOAN HOFFMAN, 57th Street Meeting of Friends and REV. ROBERT MUELLER, West Side Christian Parish; **Secretary** MARY POWERS, Winnetka Human Relations Committee **Treasurer** NORMAN BOYDEN, National Association of Social Workers, Chicago Chapter, **Executive Coordinator** JOHN J. HILL, **Associate Coordinator** BETTY PLANK, **Steering Committee** VANCE D. ARCHER III, Cook County Special Bail Project REV. DAVID CHEVRIER, Wellington Avenue Congregational Church, MILTON COHEN, Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent Voters of Illinois, RICHARD CRILEY, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, REV. THOMAS CROSS, United Methodist Board of Social Concerns, REV. MARTIN DEPPE, United Methodist Board of Social Concerns, MAUDE E. DeVICTOR, St. Columbanus Catholic Church, FRED E. GLICK, Alliance Police-Community Problems Task Force, ELYNE HANDLER, Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago, ROSS HARANO, Japanese American Citizens League, HERBERT N. HAZELKORN, 13th District Politics for Peace, WALTER HERRS, Coroner's Inquest Task Force, JON KELLEY, East Garfield Park Joint Planning Committee, VAL R. KLINK, Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent Voters of Illinois, SYLVIA KUSHNER, Chicago Peace Council, JUDI McARDLE, Cook County Special Bail Project, DAVID MEADE, Editor, Alliance Open Letter, RICHARD MENGES, Oak Park-River Forest Citizens Committee for Human Rights, REV. PATRICK O'MALLEY, St. James Catholic Church, HAROLD QUIGLEY, Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago, WILLIAM SHAPIRO, Wilmette Human Relations Committee, EDNA WILLIAMS, United Front of Cairo, BOBBETTE ZACHARIAS, Winnetka Human Relations Committee, American Jewish Congress

THE ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION 22 E. VAN BUREN ST. CHICAGO 60605 312/427-4064

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, sir. If we could proceed with Mr. Cushing and Mrs. Noren.

May I go off the record for just a moment?

Senator THURMOND. You may.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTIN. Go ahead with your statement.

## TESTIMONY OF ADELLE NOREN

Mrs. NOREN. My name is Adelle Noren, and I served as a delegate from the Board of Social Concerns of the Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church, to the Alliance to End Repression.

I was not a delegate because I wanted to be a delegate. I will tell you how it happened. Someone placed my name in nomination to serve on the Conference Board of Social Concerns. This was done without consulting me, or obtaining my permission. I felt certain that because of my conservative stance, I would never be elected to this board, which I considered to be extremely liberal. At the annual conference, in 1972, however, I was elected.

When I attended the first meeting of the Board of Social Concerns, which is now called the Board of Church and Society, I was assigned to the Human Relations Division. The chairman of the division at that time was Reverend Harold "Bill" Smith of the Armitage Avenue United Methodist Church in Chicago. This is the church that had been taken over by the Young Lords, and where the former minister and his wife had been murdered.

In the human relations division we were given a list of organizations with which this division was involved, and one of these organizations was the Alliance to End Repression. When it became evident to me that each person in the division would have a responsibility, I volunteered to be the delegate to the Alliance, at least I knew something about this organization. A few minutes later I realized it was a ridiculous thing to do, and I asked that my name be removed, that I could not be the delegate. Reverend Smith asked me why, and I said I was too conservative to be with the Alliance. He said he would not remove me as a delegate because the Alliance had been in existence for about 4 years and surrounded themselves with people who all thought alike, and my presence might help clarify their thinking. I had no choice, he would not remove my name.

This was a peculiar position for me to be in. I had been openly opposed to the United Methodist Church financially supporting the Alliance to End Repression, and had spoken out at the 1971 annual conference about this. I had been concerned over what appeared to be a tie-in with Communists and the Alliance to End Repression, which the church was supporting, and had appeared on an hour-and-a-half radio talk show on that subject in October, 1971.

I began attending Alliance meetings. Not too long after someone gave me a copy of the Social Questions Bulletin, published by the Methodist Federation for Social Action. This group has been cited as a Communist front organization.

In this bulletin, dated October, 1972, I read the following:

Reverend William Baird, Executive Director of the Northern California Committee against Repressive Legislation, and Pastor of the Humanist Church in Oakland told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance to End Repression.

"He said it took 27 years to get it together. Our MFSA Vice President, Martin Deppe, was involved in this project. Chicago is the only place in the United States where there is such an alliance. 'I was headlined in the Chicago Tribune as the Red Minister of Chicago.' Feeling that the threat of a police state in the United States was very great, the Alliance helped to get 50 anti-Daley delegates elected to the Democratic Convention. 'A Roman Catholic priest is chairman of the alliance; a nun is secretary. We won't do anything unless we work with the Gus Halls.' "

[Complete text of the passage referred to follows:]

[From Social Questions Bulletin, October 1972]

Rev. William Baird, Executive Director of the Northern California Committee Against Repressive Legislation, and pastor of the Humanist Church in Oakland, told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance to End Repression; it took 27 years to get it together. Our MFSA vice president Martin Deppe was involved in this project. Chicago is the only place in the U.S. where there is such an alliance. "I was headlined in the Chicago Tribune as the Red Minister of Chicago." Feeling that the threat of a police state in the U.S. was very great, the Alliance helped to get 50 anti-Daley delegates elected to the Democratic Convention. "A Roman Catholic priest is chairman of the Alliance, a nun is secretary. We won't do anything unless we work with the Gus Halls. There was a discussion between Karl Barth and six selected U.S. Communist leaders. Barth said, 'I am a Christian Marxist'. The Communists replied. 'You are our brother.' What is your concern Angela Davis? The Blacks? Housing? I took six months off from my job to work on the Angela Davis case. I tried to get into the churches with the film about Angela, 'Portrait of a Revolutionary'. Most of you weren't with her," Baird said to the Federation members. "As far as you would go was to say she should get a fair trial. But she, to you, had leprosy. She is a Communist."

This statement really confirmed my suspicion about the Alliance, and so I called the Chicago Police Department and asked if there was anyone there who was interested in the organization, the Alliance to End Repression. The man on the phone said he would check and get back to me. I was contacted by a member of the intelligence division who said he was interested and would like to meet and talk with me. I was so pleased to get this call because it was evident someone else shared my concern.

It is appalling to me that the United Methodist Church would financially and vocally support an organization such as the Alliance to End Repression when it is built on such a foundation. Perhaps the reason for the initial support was that one of the founders of the Alliance is Reverend Martin Deppe, a Methodist. Martin Deppe has been connected with several questionable groups, such as the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which has been cited as a Communist front organization. He has served as vice-president in the Methodist Federation for Social Action, also cited as a Communist front. He is involved in Clergy and Laymen Concerned, a peace group, and when participating in this organization's activities was arrested in the Capitol rotunda; and is on the Advisory Council of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bills of Rights, the Midwest affiliate of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us when and where the Methodist Federation for Social Action was cited as a Communist front?

Mrs. NOREN. The Methodist Federation for Social Action was discussed in the Internal Security Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, April 23, 1956, page 91 and referred to in the following manner:

> With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. SOURWINE. I wondered if it was this committee's statement that you were referring to as the citation. Go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN. It may interest you to know that Rev. Martin Deppe was just assigned to be the pastor of the church I attend.

I have documentation here on Alliance stationery to support that Martin Deppe was one of the founders of the Alliance to End Repression. I am also submitting two brochures, their titles are identical, they read, "A Democratic Society, or a Police State in America, which shall it be?"

[The material was later admitted for the record, and are as follows:]

# THE ALLIANCE TO

431 S. DEARBORN ST.
CHICAGO, ILL. 60605
RM. 1126 427-4064

## A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OR A POLICE STATE IN AMERICA

# WHICH WILL IT BE?

"We have seen all too clearly that there are men--now in power in this country --who do not respect dissent, who cannot cope with turmoil, and who believe that the people of America are ready to support repression as long as it is done with a quiet voice and a business suit."--Mayor John V. Lindsay, April 2, 1970

Early in 1970 a group of leaders from civil liberties, religious, peace, service and community organizations met to consider the problem of the growing repression of constitutional rights. The concensus of this gathering was to launch the Alliance to End Repression. Their statement declared:

"A democratic society or a police state in America -- which will it be?
We are reaching a turning point in the road. Life and death issues -- war, the draft, the destruction of man's environment, a racist heritage of inequality and injustice, economic dislocation, urban decay--have generated vast peoples' movements for social change.
In contrast, government inertia has hardened to unyielding resistance...
We believe the trend toward repression, national and local, adds up to a step-by-step process of creating a police state.
We believe this totalitarian direction can be reversed. We are confident that our society possesses the resources to solve its problems if people are free to seek creative programs."

In the few months of its existence, the Alliance to End Repression has brought together a multitude of organizations, reaching from the Black and Latin ghettos to the affluent suburbs, to join in actions to meet the thrusts of repression. Task Forces of the Alliance are dealing with a variety of problems, including police lawlessness, reform of the bail system, restrictive judicial rulings, and repressive legislation.

# ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

1) A Council, consisting of a delegate and alternate from each organization, meets the second Tuesday of each month as the highest decision-making body. Each organization is entitled to one vote.
2) The staff consists of a full-time Executive Coordinator, Rev. John Hill, and an assistant, Miss Betty Plank. A Steering Committee, which includes the Executive Coordinator, Task Force Coordinators, members-at-large, and officers, serves as the executive body.
3) The major work of the Alliance is carried on by Task Forces, made up of representatives of cooperating organizations.
4) Major actions and public statements will be made in the name of the groups which agree on the statement or action, with the Alliance acting as coordinator.
5) Membership is open to all organizations committed to the principles and objectives of the Alliance, and which have a viable constituency and program.
6) Affiliation fees are the chief source of funding the Alliance office, based upon the income and ability of constituent groups to contribute.

## HERE ARE SOME ACTIONS OF THE ALLIANCE

The Alliance has launched some major initiatives and has already contributed to significant victories. Here are some highlights:

BAIL REFORM: Unfair and unconstitutional bail practices in Cook County constitute a major source of repression, particularly in the Black, Latin, and other poor communities.

As an immediate response, the Alliance is collecting monthly sustaining contributions of $25 and up for a bail fund administered by the Coalition for United Community Action.

More long range, the Alliance is developing a bail reform project to establish a comprehensive system for the administration of a release on recognizance program. In cooperation with lawyers' groups, provision is being made for free legal representation in the bail hearings.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION: The "Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970" (H.R. 14864), perhaps the most far-reaching repressive bill in Congress, was brought to public attention throughout the country by the Legislative Task Force of the Alliance. Support was given to the repeal of the Emergency Detention Camp Act. The area of work is being enlarged to deal with repressive provisions in the pending anti-crime bills -- preventive detention, "no-knock" searches, etc. -- and with state legislation.

THE COURTS: In the aftermath of the raid upon the Black Panther apartment in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were shot to death, the Alliance initiated a public campaign for the appointment of a special prosecutor to deal with violations of the law by the police and State's Attorney. The Alliance brought together 67 organizations in a petition to the court, as other groups took similar action. The result was the court order empowering Barnabus Sears to act in this capacity.

Earlier, twelve organizations brought together by the Alliance joined in an amicus brief challenging the "gag rule" imposed on the defendants in the Chicago 15 trial. Later, the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals vacated Judge Robson's order.

# STATEMENT OF PURPOSE BY THE FOUNDERS OF THE ALLIANCE

At this moment, a qualitatively new initiative is needed to defend our freedoms and stop repression. Toward this end, we propose the building of a unified, inclusive, action-oriented alliance of organizations of many kinds to:

1) place the defense of our basic freedoms as a top priority;
2) focus public attention on each major incident of repression, interpreting it in the light of many other such instances in order to make the emerging pattern of repression clearly visible;
3) develop the material and organizational power and resources to deal with repression at every level; and
4) enlist the support and commitment of large numbers of people, including many who until now have been passive.

Organizationally, we seek to create a flexible framework which will permit each organization to maintain its identity and autonomy, to deal with such issues as it chooses, without, however, sacrificing the ability of the Alliance to act quickly and decisively.

This structure is intended to serve as a center for coordinated action, evaluation of priorities, and exchange of relevant information and educational resources.

# ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

431 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605 • ROOM 1126 • (312) 427-4064
New: 22 E. Van Buren * Chicago, Ill 60605


September 22, 1971

Dear Mr.

Forgive this long delay in acknowledging your August 4 letter and for your contribution..Many thanks.

We thought you'd be interested in our Open Letter which tells a good bit about the work we do; it is enclosed.

If you were at the Ann Arbor meeting, I hope you got to talk to Martin Deppe. He was among the founders of the Alliance and is still active.

I am going to have to get an up to date map of the United States. Many other cities are getting interested in how we got started and our format. I was just wondering if you are near two friends of ours who just moved to California. Jan had been very active here--especially on our bail project and, I know, hoped to find a similar way of working in California. Are you near: Mr and Mrs. Tom Honore (she is Jan), 1138 11th St., Santa Monica?

Sincerely,

Betty Plank

Betty Plank

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# A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OR A POLICE STATE IN AMERICA

# WHICH WILL IT BE?

## To: Delegates and Guests 1972 Democratic Convention

Civil liberties and rights are currently under massive attack by the Nixon Administration. It is in today's repressive atmosphere that the break-in and attempted bugging of the Democratic National Committee Headquarters in Miami has occurred. The incident is only one indication of the extent to which democratic freedoms are in jeopardy.

A growing federal "Big Brother" is probing into the personal lives and political activities of millions of Americans. A Senate sub-committee found that the names of U.S. citizens appear 2.8 billion times in government files; the average citizen probably is in the files of at least a dozen agencies.

The U.S. Army has been "spying" on civilian activities for nearly 10 years, and has a "subversive file" of 25 million Americans – one out of eight citizens. Otto Kerner and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois are among these millions, as well as other prominent liberals. The Civil Service Commission has a "blacklist" of 1.5 million; the Passport Office has a "subversive" file of over 200,000; the FBI maintains 194 million sets of fingerprints, and no one knows the details of its political surveillance.

### REPRESSIVE LAWS & INQUISITORIAL COMMITTEES

In addition, a whole series of laws which repress basic democratic rights have been enacted in recent years; for example, authorization for expanded wiretapping and surveillance, for "no-knock" entries into people's homes by police officers, for jailing of "special dangerous offenders" up to 25 years in addition to normal sentencing, and the undercutting of the Fifth Amendment right to freedom from self-incrimination.

First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and political associations continue to suffer under attacks from the House Internal Security (former Un-American Activities) Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the (so-called) Subversive Activities Control Board, and other Inquisitorial Committees.

The present Supreme Court, with four Nixon appointees, can no longer be expected to safeguard civil liberties. Already the Nixon Court has eroded a number of basic legal rights. Up to, during, and after the coming elections, it is essential that the Congress and the people work to repeal repressive laws, outlaw bugging and surveillance, and abolish thought-control committees.

**Without such an effort, our country is headed towards a police state. This brochure is prepared by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. Our program for legislative action is inside. These proposals were presented to the Democratic Platform Committee on June 12.**

# Abolish House Internal Security Committee

In 1971, the Democratic Study Group made a special report on the House Internal Security Committee (formerly, Un-American Activities Committee). Facts compiled by the DSG and others indicate why HUAC/HISC should be abolished:

> In 33 years, the Committee has produced only one piece of legislation that still stands – authorizing the moribund Subversive Activities Control Board. HUAC/HISC has reported out only six bills in its history which became law; of 15,434 bills introduced to the 91st Congress, only 5 separate bills went to the Committee.
>
> Yet the rate of spending per committee member exceeds that of all other House Committees. HISC ranks 5th in total appropriations, and in the 91st Congress outspent the combined budgets of the Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, Interior and Ways and Means Committees. HISC maintains one of the largest staffs in the House.
>
> The chief task of HISC is the unauthorized maintainence of some 754,000 index cards on individuals and organizations engaged in political activities. These files are used by over 40 federal agencies to blacklist people from employment. Yet the information in the files is uncorroborated, un-cross-examined testimony, often consisting of nothing more than gossip.

"Some Day Maybe The Government Will Do Something About Your Internal Security"

Rep. Robert Drinan, a member of HISC, contends it should be abolished. He says it is a waste of taxpayer's money, a violation of the Constitution, and has no legislative purpose as a standing committee. On March 1, 108 members of the House voted to cut off all funds for HUAC/HISC. In addition, the following 69 Representatives have introduced Resolutions to abolish HISC, strengthen the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, and seal the HISC files in the Archives:

## THESE SIXTY NINE (69) REPRESENTATIVES HAVE INTRODUCED RESOLUTIONS TO ABOLISH HISC

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burton, Calif | Annunzio, Ill | Harrington, Mass | Howard, N J | Reid, N Y | Tiernan, R I |
| Corman, Calif | Collins, Ill | Morse, Mass | Thompson, N J | Rosenthal, N Y | Abourezk, S D |
| Daniel on, Calif | Metcalfe, Ill | Conyers, Mich | Abzug, N Y | Scheuer, N Y | Andersen, Tenn |
| Dellums, Calif | Mikva, Ill | Diggs, Mich | Badillo, N Y | Wolff, N Y | Eckhardt, Texas |
| Edwards, Calif | Yates, Ill | Ford (Wm), Mich | Bingham, N Y | Ashley, Ohio | McCormack, Wash |
| Hawkins, Calif | Jacobs, Ind | Nedzi, Mich | Carey, N Y | Seiberling, Ohio | Meeds, Wash |
| Leggett, Calif | Culver, Iowa | Riegle, Mich | Chisholm, N Y | Stokes, Ohio | Aspin, Wisc |
| McCloskey, Calif | Schwengel, Ia | Bergland, Minn | Dow, N Y | Vanik, Ohio | Kastenmeier, Wi |
| Rees, Calif | Gude, Md | Fraser, Minn | Halpern, N Y | Eilberg, Pa | Reuss, Wisc |
| Roybal, Calif | Mitchell, Md | Karth, Minn | Koch, N Y | Green, Pa | Fauntroy, D C |
| Waldie, Calif | Boland, Mass | Clay, Missouri | Podell, N Y | St Germain, R I | |
| Evans, Colo | Drinan, Mass | Helstoski, N J | Rangell, N Y | | |

(Underlining = Republican)

**If your Representative is listed, write your THANKS ! If not, ask WHY ?**

# Restrictive Laws that Should be Repealed

**The Subversive Activities Control Act** (Public Law 81 – 831; Title 1. Amended in 1968: Public Law 90 – 237. Extended by President Nixon's Executive Order 11605 on July 2, 1971)

*Note:* This is the surviving remnant of President Nixon's original proposal as a member of HUAC in 1948 (Mundt – Nixon Bill), finally to become the Internal Security Act of 1950. By unanimous decision of the Supreme Court (11/15/65), and several subsequent decisions, the original law was held to be unconstitutional and unenforceable. Likewise, the 1968 effort to revive the SACB was held by the Courts to be "Contrary to the first amendment." In addition to the Act's inherent violations of the 1st Amendment and constitutional strictures against Bills of Attainder, President Nixon's recent Executive Order has been challenged for its violation of the separation of poers, in usurping Congresional prerogatives to enact legislation. *On June 15, the Senate voted 42 – 25 to cut off all funds for the SACB; the House had voted $450,000 for the agency on May 18. The issue is pending before a conference committee of the House and Senate, probably to be decided following the Miami Convention. Legislation:* House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler and Abner Mikva have introduced *S 2466,* to deny funding and implementation of EO 11605. Meanwhile, the House has approved (246 – 125) the House Internal Security Committee's *HR 9669,* to change the name of the SACB, validate the Nixon Executive Order, and give new powers to the SACB.

**The Wire – Tapping and Electronic Surveillance Law, embodied in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1969** (Public Law 90 – 351, Title III).

*Note:* Since passage, the Courts report 622,292 tapped conversations of 61,400 people, exclusive of national security bugs that are unreported. According to an analysis prepared for the American Civil Liberties Union by Professor Herman Schwartz, "the percentage of convictions per people overheard is so small as to be virtually *de minis." Legislation: none yet introduced; in drafting repeal legislation, care should be exercised to preserve statutory safeguards which have been previously enacted.*

**The No – Knock Laws of the D.C. Court Reform & Criminal Procedure Act of 1970** (Public Law 91 – 358, Chapt 5, Subchpt VI) and the **Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970** (Public Law 91 – 513, Title II, Pt E, Sec 509).

*Note:* These violate 4th Amendment guarantees to the people against unreasonable searches and seizures. Originally patterned for only the District of Columbia, it was subsequently made applicable to all Federal jurisdictions. In practice, the law has invited sloppy police and detective work, resulting in several break-ins on innocent parties with resultant injuries to both police and "wrong parties." *Legislation: None yet introduced.*

**The Anti – Riot Act of 1969** (Public Law 90 – 284) 18 U.S.C., Secs 2101 – 2102), which classes as a "conspiracy" interstate travel with the intent to organize a demonstration , here to be construed as a "riot."

*Note:* Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark refused to prosecute under this law, charging that the statute was unconstitutional and would not "really reduce riots in the United States." Former Attorney General John Mitchell used the law in a number of controversial cases and indicated that it would be used further if pending constitutional challenges could be successfully surmounted. *Legislation:* Rep. John Conyers, Jr. introduced appropriate repeal bill in 91st Congress: *HR 11567* (5/2/69)

Mrs. Noren. Please note that one of these brochures is published by the Alliance to End Repression, and the other by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. I am bringing these out to show the close connection between an identified Communist front organization and the Alliance to End Repression. Throughout the notes I am submitting you will observe references to the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Richard Criley is the executive director of this group. The Chicago Committee is the local office of the National Committee against Repressive Legislation. Richard Criley is the founding father of the Alliance, according to Mr. Jack Mendelsohn, president of the Alliance. Richard Criley has been identified several times in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party.

There seems to be a very strong tie which binds the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and the Alliance to End Repression. I have often wondered if the Alliance was really the action arm of the Chicago Committee. And frankly I have often wondered if the Alliance was in itself a Communist front.

The Alliance, according to its coordinator, John Hill, is mainly interested in institutionalized repression. The focal point of this repression is the criminal justice system. It is evident to me that the Alliance fights so-called repression by putting pressure on the police department; filing law suits against the police department, and in general creating a negative attitude on the part of the citizens towards the police. An example of that took place in one meeting. There was a young man there who said that the people in his community were being harassed by the police. At face value this made the police look pretty bad. I sat down and talked to him, we talked about the actual incidents and he said, well, the police were polite and proper, and they didn't really abuse the people. I didn't force him into that admission but talked to him in a positive manner about the facts.

At the very same meeting John Hill said he should get working with the people out in the districts and invite them to come to the Alliance to discuss the problems they are having with the police. There is an assumption here that the people naturally are having problems with the police, and this is a very negative approach; it is a case of looking for problems.

I have never found anything positive in the attitude of the Alliance toward the police department. I know of two specific cases—and no doubt there are more—where the Alliance people read in the paper, or heard of an incident involving the police. The Alliance then made phone calls or personal visits to the citizens involved, urging them to take action on the incidents.

In other words, the Alliance looks for trouble. If you attend an Alliance meeting and you say anything negative about the police, you have it made.

The Alliance has said they have no objection to any police officer in uniform attending their meetings. And yet, at the meeting of March 19, 1973, Police Officer Renault Robinson, who was the guest speaker, did not give his planned talk because there was a plainclothes officer in the room. I could not help but wonder what Robinson had planned to say at that meeting that another police officer couldn't hear.

The Alliance itself claims that it is a peaceful group. And yet, if you will carefully read the notes I have on the July 18, 1973 meeting

of the Civil Service Commission, you will see that this was an extremely disruptive meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you offering this for inclusion in the record?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, I am.

[The material referred to follows:]

*September 21, 1972*

A planning session was held before visiting the Chicago Civil Service Commission to argue for implementation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Association report. It was suggested that maximum confrontation within the bounds of stability be used.

*October 17, 1972—Alliance to End Repression Council Meeting*

Esther Herst of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights gave a report on legislation in Washington which was handled in a manner reflecting the Alliance to End Repression point of view:

Opposed the Equal Education Opportunities Act which was an anti-bussing bill. Shelved.

HR16742 House Internal Security Committe bill which made it illegal to go to countries with whom we are engaged in conflict, such as North Viet Nam. Alliance spent weekend phoning Congressmen asking for their presence in the House on Monday morning and to vote NO on this bill. The National Committee Against Repressive Legislation worked nationally contacting Congressmen. Bill voted down.

Subversive Activities Control Board—appropriation of only $350,000 to this Board, enough to pay the salaries but not enough so they could be active.

Report by John Hill regarding a Class Action Suit. Mike Meyer, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law is handling this. An attorney from Washington is here in Chicago to conduct hearings to see if the Civil Rights Commission of the Justice Department can intervene in support of our charges by amicus brief. Alliance would then step out of case.

*November 14, 1972—Meeting at the offices of the Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church with District Superintendents of the Church and John Hill.*

John Hill reported that the Alliance is mainly interested in institutionalized repression, the focal point of this type of repression in the Criminal Justice System. He told of one of the first meetings of the Alliance which was attended by 36 oppressed people, 12 blacks, many of whom were from the Black P Stone Nation; 12 Latins which included the Young Lords; and 12 whites. They talked of the repression against members of their groups when being arrested—they were not released on recognizance bonds. He also said the machinery in the Criminal Justice System is rusty but the Alliance feels this is acceptable to many people because this machinery is used to repress people.

*November 14, 1972—Alliance Council Meeting—Program, Citizens Alert*

Joe Kestenbaum reported on the use of force. Why are so many civilians killed by police in Chicago? Chicago's record is much worse than other cities. Blacks run six times the chance of being killed by police than whites. During the 1969–1970 period, 76 civilians were killed by police. This information was gathered from news stories as the police department doesn't talk about such statistics. Charges were officially filed on only 4 of these killings—there was one conviction. One of the reasons for this might be inadequate psychological screening of officers by the Police Department. Information is hard to get on the activities of the Internal Affairs Division (IAD). Their job is to investigate the conduct of an officer. A civilian or a policeman can file complaints with IAD.

It is felt that the lack of punishment of policemen is actually an encouragement for them to continue in their ways. The level of community trust is low. It is risky to file a complaint with IAD—sometimes the person filing the complaint is arrested—sometimes there is retalliation by the police. The Coroners Office is a political office with political pressures. In the above mentioned 76 killings by the police of civilians, one was charged with murder, one with manslaughter, and there were 65 cases of justifiable manslaughter. The Coroner is not inclined to go against the police. The Police Task Force goes into communities and uses physical and mental force against the residents. If the Police Depart-

ment in Chicago kills more civilians than any other city, it stands to reason they are proportionately worse in other areas as well.

Barbara Caulfield reported on Law Suit concerning discrimination in hiring. In the hiring of officers the written exam does not relate to the job. The physical exam eliminates many applicants—heart murmers, overweight or underweight, with no opportunity given for the candidate to bring his weight in line with Department requirements. The height requirement is responsible for eliminating many of the minority applicants. In regard to the tests for Promotion, no tests have been validated. We suspect the test doesn't relate to promotion. No copy of the tests are available for examination. Character—minorities are put upon by the department. If you wish to file a Federal Suit you do not have to notify IAD. The City settles out of court on damages less than $1,000. If enough people filed suit for less than $1,000 it might make the City wake up and keep the Police in line so they wouldn't have to pay out so much money.

Fred Glick, Chairman of Citizens Alert, talked about the Police Board. He told about Alliance pressures in attendance and questions at the Board meetings. President of the Police Board is now Marlin Johnson. Morgan Murphy was the former President and apparently he couldn't take the Alliance pressure so resigned for the reason of poor health. However, since Johnson took his place as President, Murphy has attended every meeting in apparent good health. The Alliance feels their pressure caused him to resign.

John Hill said that the Chicago Civil Service Commission meets every Wednesday at 2 p.m. The Alliance would like 4 or 5 people to attend each week just to let the Commission know that the citizens care. The Commission should have public meetings according to the law, but they have no meeting. The Alliance will put pressure on them just as they put it on the Police Department until they hold public meetings.

John Hill then introduced Bobby Rush of the Black Panthers. Rush reminised that the Panthers were one or the groups who were present when the Alliance was in its forming period. He said the Police do not serve or protect the Black community. He spoke of Community Control of the Police Department. A neighborhood committee should be set up with a representative on each block. They would circulate petitions and leaflets, serve as a reception center for grievances against Police and they would conduct monthly workshops. The community should have the right to hire and fire Police.

*November 18, 1972—Alliance to End Repression Fund Raising Dinner. Speaker, Renault Robinson of the Afro-American Patrolmen League.*

Crime is on the increase. Employment of police is on the increase. Inefficiency in police work in minority communities is because of discrimination. There is a lack of communication—there is a language barrier. The customs of these people are not familiar to the police working these areas. For example, in a Black community it may be the custom for the husband to beat up his wife every Friday night—the police step in and arrest him because they think he is doing something wrong—not just carrying out a custom of his people. Wife beating may be a life style in some areas. Police are not advised of life styles in communities to which they are assigned.

Crimes against some people are more important than crimes against other people. A missing person in a black community gets very little attention from the police. It depends on who you are, the amount of concern given by the police.

Richard Criley introduced Don Rose, a man who worked very hard for the election of States Attorney Bernard Carey.

*January 1973—A phone conversation I had with Val Klink, attorney working on lawsuit against the Red Squad*

Val told me the Chicago Police Department has a very complex surveillance apparatus that is a group of men known as the Subversive Activities Unit of the Intelligence Division, popularly known as the Red Squad. They have a lot of color coded unprocessed information that is immediately retrievable. The Police Department doesn't have any evidence in these files that could indict or prosecute anybody. They are not really investigating criminal activities, they are investigating peaceful assemblies of people. We fear that once information is in a dossier it is available on a 24 hour a day basis. A credit company can get information. In Washington there is the House Internal Security Committee. They have files on 750,000 Americans and their file is searched 500 times a day by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. We suspect the information in their files comes from local law enforcement agencies. This could make it very difficult for somebody to get a government service rating or a job later on. He said he

wouldn't be surprised if the Illinois and Chicago Civil Service Commissions checked out people in these files, and this would mean that if anyone wanted to be a policeman or a fireman and have a file against them, they might not get the job. There is no law that says the Civil Service Commission cannot search these files. We wonder if credit ratings have non-financial material in them. A credit company can get information, like about somebody who is involved in a peace group. We are not sure this is happening, but no one say its not happening.

We are interviewing a lot of people and a lot of organization for this lawsuit—those who feel that their privacy has been invaded and we have 15 of our people who have been trained in this thing by a lawyer. We are going through this material to see where the hard stuff is that can be admissable as evidence and create a strong case for us.

*January 9, 1973—Alliance to End Repression, Council Meeting—Guest Speaker Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. Subject—"Steps Toward a Police State and/or the House Internal Security Committee."*

Mr. Wilkinson hit hard on the Democrat Party for going along with the law and order issues of the Nixon administration. He cited the very disappointing action in the House and Senate on the organized crime control act. The Anti-Riot Act can be repealed in Congress. He talked about tapping of phones—those with and those without judicial orders.

Dick Criley spoke and said Repression is incipient Facism. He talked about setting up a Legislative committee to flood Congressmen with letters on key issues. He said that 12 years ago Criley and Wilkinson started these tactics in Roosevelt's district in California to get him to push for an anti-HUAC bill, and the method worked.

*January 23, 1973—AER-Steering Committee Meeting*

John Hill said that the Bail Project is receiving funding from the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission.

A Class Action suit on discrimination has been promised in 1 or 2 weeks. There are 8 or 9 ready to testify who were recruited by Renault Robinson.

*February 6, 1973—Police Board Meeting*

John Hill said he would like statistics and information on the police to be more readily available to the public. Newspapers should have this material made available to them for publication.

*March 13, 1973—AER-Council Meeting*

Dick Criley played a tape recording of an Editorial Comment on WBBM radio which asked for respect for the Police Department. He then played a rebuttal tape on which Ruth Wells was the speaker. She said the Police should earn our respect.

Milton Cohen said the attendance of the Alliance people at Police Board meetings has let the police know that someone is watching them. We must stop police harrassment in the ghetto communities. We want to push the idea of a Police Board Citizens Nominating Committee. There are two more appointments to be made to the Police Board—Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Morgan Murphy. If we keep up the pressure they may get discouraged and quit.

Pat Dodson said we want independent hospitals to give the medical tests for patrolmen applicants—then maybe we won't end up with so many minority people being eliminated for heart murmers or flat feet.

Fred Glick said that at the next meeting of the Police Board, March 22nd, the Alliance will question the constitutionality in the establishment of the Red Squad and the General Order. If the Police Board does not give the Alliance a satisfactory answer in 30 days the Alliance will then file a Federal Court suit. The General Order is over-broad and contrary to the First Amendment. A model ordinance will be presented that will be be in accord with the First Amendment.

*March 19, 1973—Citizens Alert Board Meeting*

Jeff Haas of the National Lawyers Guild spoke and discussed three law suits in which they may be involved. One of these was the George Lucas suit.

John Hill said that the Alliance was already committed to helping financially with the Lucas case but he would make a motion to authorize the distribution of $250 when a legal project is specifically defined for which the money could be used.

Renault Robinson who was to be the featured speaker appeared in Police Uniform on his lunch hour, spent considerable time in another office talking to John Hill, and then spoke only briefly to the Board. He said the Afro American Patrolmen's League had a Federal suit pending on discrimination. Also, LEAA has no leader. They spend about $800 million a year. The Illinois group also gives money, Donald Page Moore heads it. In 8 or 10 years metropolitan areas in this country will be black. The cities don't want to give up control of the police and fire to blacks any sooner than they have to.

Fred Glick asked that all Board members remain after adjournment. He then said that Renault Robinson had some things to tell us but couldn't do so because there were a couple of people in the room they did not want at the meeting when Robinson talked—referred to them as informers.

*April 10, 1973—AER Council Meeting*

Dick Criley talked about the Senate Internal Security Committee and told everyone not to sit back and rejoice because it will be no longer in existence. It is being replaced by the Federal Employee Appeals and Security Commission. They will be ordered to investigate all sorts of organizations. For example if they thought the Alliance to End Repression should be investigated, they will do it.

John Hill reported that a Class Action Suit will be filed, Camacho et al vs. Conlisk et al, in regard to the issue of discrimination in hiring in the Police Department.

*April 19, 1973—Police Board Meeting*

Supt. Conlisk reported that the name SUBVERSIVE would be substituted with SECURITY in the questions regarding this unit.

*April 24, 1973—AER Steering Committee*

Jack Mendelsohn, President of AER, said he was working on Congressman Ralph Metcalf's committee. Metcalf presently has an organization called the Concerned Citizens for Police Reform which is basically a south side group. They are gathering their grievances against the Police Department and will come out in the open in their attack very shortly. Their immediate concern is the Chicago Police Board. They want to expand it to 15 members who are representative of the communities and people of Chicago. This committee has hopes of becoming the nominating committee to screen and present names for nomination to the City Council. Metcalf has been pressuring Mendelsohn for some time to obtain the support of the Alliance. Metcalf's group feels it will have a far easier time getting grants than the Alliance's own Citizens Alert. Metcalf is talking about getting money from the East. The Alliance feels that they have done all the ground work with the Police Board for two years and some were resentful of another group coming in as a leader in this field, asking for our support, and their group getting all the money. For peace at the present it was decided that the Alliance would support Metcalf's group. Money details will be worked out later.

John Hill said he planned to go to Springfield tomorrow to speak before the Judical Committee as a representative of the Chicago Legal Assistance Association, of which he is vice president, rather than as the Alliance which would turn people off.

*June 7, 1973—Police Board Meeting*

Ruth Wells said that the citizens need good intelligent police on the streets patrolling their communities and that assigning Renault Robinson to patrolling an alley was not making use of his talents. She felt his assignment was punitive action because he speaks out on ways to improve the situation in Chicago.

Jim Johnson, president of the Confederation of Police, got up and said that the alley to which Ruth Wells referred has been a patrolled area for a number of years. This was not a job created for Renault Robinson.

*June 16, 1973—Northern Illinois Conference Board of Social Concerns meeting*

Gates Vrooman, head of the Human Relations Division talked about the Alliance to End Repression program item to come before Conference for money to be given to the Alliance. He directed Rev. Al Patton to write to all District directors to see how we could get the Alliance into each of the districts and churches.

A request from the Alliance that the church write a letter to States Attorney Carey requesting he continue the investigation into the deaths of George Lucas and St. John Watts, Jr. was presented. The Board agreed to write the letter and asked that as many in the group as would, to also write their own letters.

*June 18, 1973—Citizens Alert Meeting*

Attorney Mike Meyers presented four men to tell their stories in regard to their attempt to become police officers and how they failed because of physical exams, etc. Meyers said that two men from the Justice Dept. have been in touch with him and he feels considerable support from them. All this related to the lawsuit on discrimination in hiring by the police department.

*July 2, 1973—Citizens Alert Strategy Meeting*

Dick Criley read a list of questions prepared by Val Klink regarding the Red Squad that should be read to the Police Board. Val felt that an organization other than the Alliance should do the ground work on this and that the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights was the logical one. The questions:

1. Was the only change in the General Order that of changing the word SUBVERSIVE to SECURITY?
2. Was this a change in name only? Is the work they are doing just the same as before?
3. Was there a change in personnel?
4. Is there a change in the funds they use?
5. Is the mission still the same?
6. Could you tell us what constitutes a security threat?
7. Would this be a physical or a political threat?
8. Can a person or organization who has a file with the Red Squad have the opportunity to examine the file to correct any inaccurate information the Red Squad may have? This is done in other groups where files are held, such as credit, etc.
9. If the Red Squad has a file on a person or organization and they then decide that the person or organization does not constitute a threat, is the file then destroyed?

These questions will constitute the opening of the whole thing. These questions will be presented in writing to the Police Board and we will wait until the next Board meeting to see what reply they have. During the month, however, final preparations will be made to file a suit right after the Board meeting.

John Hill has contacted Wieboldts who gave $10,000 to Citizens Alert at the first of the year, and asked if they could give any more. Wieboldt said they may consider it but they did not want to be the only group funding Citizens Alert. Wieboldt has asked for an accounting of how the $10,000 was used. They also asked if Citizens Alert had raised the $2,000 they said they would raise for their own work. This has not been done. Citizens Alert has actually gone into debt because if they didn't, Ruth Wells would no longer have her job.

*July 5, 1973—Police Board Meeting*

Dick Criley spoke in regard to Rule 71–11, the Security Section, saying he represented the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and asked the questions listed above. He gave a list of these questions to President Johnson.

President Johnson replied that the Supt. of Police had left the meeting so I will ask him that he answer these questions next time. Some cannot be answered.

Ruth Wells asked, "Is the assignment of police officers ever used as a punishment?"

Johnson replied, "No, but we will ask the Supt. to make this statement a part of his report at the next meeting."

Dick Criley said, "It appears that Renault Robinson was being punished by being placed in an alley assignment."

Johnson replied, "As we have said before, we will make no comment on individual cases."

*July 10, 1973—AER Council Meeting*

John Hill asked for a motion by the Alliance saying that we want the no-knock bill off the books. Motion made, seconded and passed.

*July 18, 1973—Civil Service Commission meeting*

Alliance people attended and when the CSC indicated they would begin the hearings, the Alliance people jumped, whispering, "Somebody ask a question." Dick Criley asked when the Civil Service Commission was going to make a reply

to the LEAA report. Mr. Cahill said he didn't know. Criley pressed him. No results. Criley got a bit rough in his insistence. Cahill said he had been asking the same question for 6 months but he is not going to get an answer. The Civil Service Commission gives psychological exams at the direction of the Police Department. Mary Powers referred to a news clipping in which Dr. Poinian of CSC was quoted. He said he had not seen the article and didn't know if he was quoted accurately. A couple of others tried to ask questions and then Mr. Cahill indicated he was going into the hearing section. Cassandra from the Chicago Urgan League got up—she was in the front row with Ruth Wells, and said she had a statement she would like to read. Mr. Cahill said no, there wasn't time for a statement. Alliance people encouraged her to go ahead and start reading anyway, and she did. Mr. Cahill said something about they would have to go to another room to hold the hearing since they couldn't get the work done there. Cassandra kept on reading. Mr. Cahill finally sat down. A Sun Times reporter ran up to Ruth Wells to get a copy of the statement and then came back to talk to John Hill. Cassandra was still reading. When she finished Milton Cohen asked Mr. Cahill when he would give an answer to the statement. Mr. Cahill said next Wednesday. With that the AFR people left the meeting.

The AER people were excited and pleased with what had happened. They plan to meet next week at 9 a.m. again to plan strategy. They hope to have even more people present next week, and possibly they can get on TV. John Hill said that in the event Mr. Cahill ever moves the Commission meeting to another location we should all get up and follow him—this is within our rights—and it may be that some of us will be arrested.

I had a conversation with Jackie Tracy who is with the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. I told her I wanted to talk to Dick Criley. She said he was vacationing in Atlanta but I could talk to Esther Herst—because Esther and Dick are equal in stature in CCDBR. (I do not know the exact date of this conversation).

*August 22, 1973*

Talked with John Hill by phone and he discussed the sergeants exam and the Justice Dept. suit and the fact that the Alliance might try to work cooperatively or in conjunction with the Justice Dept. because of the similarities in their suits. If both suits could be heard by the same judge it would help.

He also told me that the Red Squad suit would be filed Sept. 14. He, Ruth Wells, and Val Klink were getting together that afternoon to discuss it. Val's secretary was in the east and had taken the suit to Arthur Cawley at Rutgers. He is one of the most radical attorneys in the country and Val wants him to take a look at the suit before it is filed. Cawley is a former law partner of William Kuntzler.

*August 28, 1973—AER Steering Committee*

John Hill said he is presently spending about 90% of his time on Citizens Alert matters.

*September 24, 1973—AER Steering Committee*

John Hill discussed the up-coming Red Squad suit. It has been decided that the suit will be presented in three parts—

1. a general complaint about surveillance activities at demonstrations of dissent
2. the plaintiffs cases will be presented
3. the General Order and the refusal by the Police Department to give any information about this order.

John Hill suggested that organizations, those that are affiliated with the Alliance and some which are not, submit letters objecting to the General Order.

*October 23, 1973—AER Steering Committee*

On the table at the meeting were copies of a call for Impeachment of President Nixon by the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society. This group had held a meeting in Washington the weekend of the firing of Cox and had issued this statement. Fran Mettling was in the East for the meeting and brought a few copies of the statement back with her. Dick Criley was told about it and he went over to the United Methodist Church headquarters in Chicago to get additional copies. He said he got there "just as Mrs. McKenzie had finished running them off." (My comment on this—I'll bet 99% of all Methodists in Chicago don't even know who Mrs. McKenzie is—I don't—but Mr. Criley knows her so well he can go into the Conference offices and pick up a supply of this material for the Alliance.)

*October 29, 1973—AER Nominating Committee Meeting*

John Hill said he had recently talked with LEAA with a man with whom he indicated they worked during the preparation of the LEAA report.

*November 14, 1973—Special meeting with Rev. John Adams of the General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, held at the Alliance office*

Rev. Adams gave background of the Methodist Church involvement in police matters. He told of the Fund for Reconciliation which was the last quadrennial emphasis. They had a 3-year program during which they funded $105,000, or $35,000 per year as seed money into 16 cities in an ecumenical effort to provide task forces on police matters. He said there was a task force functioning in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee's 2,000 man police force there are only 55 blacks. LEAA or somebody is investigating this. John Adams was in Milwaukee yesterday to confer with the Milwaukee Task Force.

John Hill said that the Association of Chiefs of Police gave an excellent report of the Chicago Police Department and for this reason he does not have too much faith in them.

John Hill also said that he has been having a covert relationship with Police Board President Marlin Johnson for some time. Johnson advised Hill that the Alliance phones were probably being tapped and Hill should not call him from the Alliance offices. John Hill has been making a practice of calling Johnson from a public pay phone and Johnson is pleased with this and talks freely to him.

*December 14, 1973—Citizens Alert Police Conference*

This meeting was called to receive citizen input on what they would like in the next Superintendent of Police. A list of questions was obtained from this meeting to be asked of candidates for this job.

*January 17, 1974—Police Board Meeting*

Supt. Rochford said he was not satisfied with the number of minorities who have passed the patrolmen's exam.

*February 7, 1974—Citizens Alert Meeting*

Mary Powers gave a report on activities in Milwaukee. She said that the Police Chief in Milwaukee was holding that job "for life" and that people in the community were very disturbed about the police dept. And so a meeting was held involving community groups, churches, etc., and many John Birchers showed up and tired to take over the meeting. Mary Powers led a workshop and it was attended by 14 to 16 John Birchers and she was afraid to talk too much and tell what organizations she belonged to. These Birchers were all from the suburbs around Milwaukee and really shouldn't have been at the meeting at all. She indicated that the Alliance had been asked by groups in Milwaukee to help with this meeting.

John Hill stressed the importance of concentrating our work in the local Police Districts, through police community workshops, etc. We really have to find out what is going on in the communities.

Cedric Russell of The Woodlawn Organization, and a member of Congressman Metcalf's staff said this was right, this is the only path to get what we want, community control of the police. No one disagreed with him.

Discussion regarding the need for a research person in Citizens Alert. John Hill said that Citizens Alert had $30,000 to work with this year. This person is needed to compile information for Ruth Wells which she can distribute to concerned people in communities all over Chicago. LEAA has a central information center now and you can either write or call them and get the answer to anything regarding police. The research person would gather information from other cities and take these statistics and compile them into information that would be meaningful to Chicago. It is anticipated that the work would require one day a week at this time and the pay would be about $35.00.

*March 5, 1974—Meeting at Congressman Metcalf's office of Committee to select a Research Person for Citizens Alert*

The job should be to establish a data bank regarding police department and police department reform. Subjects such as crime, employment, complaints, etc. Newspapers should be read and clipped and filed and made available to Ruth Wells at strategic times. A person should also keep track of community meetings and advise Ruth Wells which ones to attend. This person should also make calls to community organizations to get acquainted.

Cedric Russell, and perhaps others are going to insist on an answer to minority hiring practices in the police department when the Police Board next meets. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission had asked for an accounting from the Police Dept. and this was due last November. The Police had asked for an extension but no one knows if EEC granted this extension. Pressure will be brought to bear at the Police Board meetings.

*March 7, 1974—Citizens Alert Board Meeting*

John Hill said that we needed crime figures for all police districts in Chicago and these should be charted.

After the meeting I showed John Hill the minutes of the United Methodist Church Board of Social Concerns regarding $4500 asked for the Alliance and the $500 for the Red Squad Suit.

*March 12, 1974—AER Council Meeting*

Esther Herst talked about the 754,000 names on file in Washington and said a bill is due for a vote next week which would replace the House Internal Security Committee with a government operations committee.

Dick Criley said the Impeach Nixon Committee hopes to have 100,000 signatures for the press conference on Friday at 10 a.m. at the Essex House shortly before President Nixon arrives at the hotel next door. They plan to meet at 9:30 a.m. at the ACLU and will form a banner-carrying march from 6 S. Clark to the Essex House. He said the Impeach Nixon Committee had met with Rising Up Angry and tried to discourage them from the planned demonstration in the park across from the hotel. Criley believes that this demonstration will help Nixon because it will give the image that all those wanting impeachment are the type who demonstrate. He said that each thing you do is really a battle in the war, and therefore the battle must be handled in such a way that you win the war.

Jofree Stewart said they just didn't want to get rid of Nixon, but the whole form of government. No one corrected or disagreed with him.

*May 16, 1974—Citizens Alert Meeting*

Val Klink said that the Red Squad suit would be filed at 9 a.m. on June 4. A press conference would be held at the Alliance offices at 10 a.m. It is hoped that there will be discovery into dossiers, a sampling of dossiers and the content, to learn just what these dossiers are being used for, how the information is funnelled out and to whom. It is hoped that the suit will result in restrictions and changes in the Red Squad.

There was an expression of supreme confidence in this suit, no hesitancy, no indecision, no question of the impact it would have on surveillance by the Red Squad. They fully expect concessions and compromise from the Police Department. They fully expect success. This suit is timely because of Watergate. It will be bringing Watergate home to the City of Chicago.

*June 27, 1974—Task Force on Patronage*

Frank McGrath said that the Ward Committeemen are allocated so many police and firemen's jobs depending on how good a Democrat vote they bring in. The Civil Service tests are not really how these people are selected—it is through the Democrat Ward Committeemen.

There was conversation that indicated the purpose of this whole task force was to bring a law suit against the city and its patronage system. The big thing, however, concerned the police and fire department and their connection with the system.

*July 18, 1974—Citizens Alert meeting*

Paul Walker from the Kenwood-Oakland area talked about the problems concerning police. He said the main problem was the stop and frisk bit harrassing the people. After discussion went on for a while about what Police District he was in, etc., I asked him about the stop and frisk bit—did the police just stop and frisk or did they use abusive language to the people and push them around. He said the police were very polite and proper and didn't abuse the people.

John Hill said they had to get working with the people in the Districts. Locate organizations in certain districts who would come to the Alliance and discuss the problems they are having with the police in their areas.

*August 29, 1974—Citizens Alert meeting*

Young black woman told that she was heading up meetings in various Police Districts with citizens who are unhappy with the police. It was suggested that

churches be asked to suggest people who might like to attend meetings regarding police problems.

ILEC has denied the grant of $30,000 to Citizens Alert. This whole thing was an assured grant, but the board of ILEC changed its mind. Six organizations have been asked to write letters to the chairman of ILEC and ask that the money be given. One of these groups was the United Methodist Church Board of Social Concerns. On September 27 the ILEC will be meeting in Rock Island and representatives of Citizens Alert are being asked to attend and appear before the committee in order to get the $30,000.

*September 19, 1974—Citizens Alert meeting*

Discussion of the Police Board meeting. Concern was expressed regarding the use of excessive force. They said they would get in touch with Casey who is one of three in the Office of Professional Standards. The use of pressure has helped some cases of excessive force being sustained.

The Police Dept. Budget was also discussed. Citizens Alert wants to have open hearings on the budget and to receive copies of the budget well in advance of the hearings. The Police Board said they would consult with the corporation counsel to see if this was proper under the law. Fred Glick said he had talked to President Marlin Johnson on the phone a while back and asked him about seeing the budget in advance. Johnson indicated he would show it to Glick and a few others some evening on the quiet. One year ago the AER started a law suit to see the budget and have hearings, but before they case came up the subject was moot because the budget has already been passed. Now the plan is to file suit right after the budget is passed to insure advance copies of the budget and public hearings for next year.

ILEC funding was discussed. Ruth Wells, John Hill and Fred Glick met with ILEC on Monday of this week. ILEC said they needed more specifics which Citizens Alert was glad to supply. It appears that the $30,000 will be given to Citizens Alert.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sure people will read it. Now, let me go back just a moment. You spoke of an officer named Robinson who could not speak because—how do you know that's why he couldn't speak; did he say so?

Mrs. NOREN. Fred Glick, chairman of Citizens Alert, told us this at the meeting, as I have submitted in my notes. We came to the meeting and Renault Robinson was going to speak, he had some very important things to give us. Renault Robinson came in at his lunch break, in uniform. When he spoke he made some very unimportant comments, and he left the meeting. Then Fred Glick said, "The meeting is now adjourned, but I would like the board to remain."

So, the board remained, and when everyone else had gone and the door was locked, he said, Renault could not give his talk because there was an undercover agent in the room.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead. I wanted the record to speak clearly on this.

Mrs. NOREN. I am also submitting a tape recording of the Police Board meeting which took place April 10, 1975. This meeting went completely out of control and Ruth Wells of Citizens Alert told me that the president of the police board Marvin Johnson, blamed Richard Criley for inciting the people to this kind of action.

You may be interested to know that the Alliance to End Repression tapes all meetings of the Chicago Police Board. I made this tape from the Alliance tape, which was given to me by Ruth Wells. But I cannot help but wonder if the Alliance would permit a uniformed police officer to tape Alliance meetings.

I am submitting a copy of a flier publicizing a rally and march. The flier reads, "End Police Spying and Police Harassment, Abolish the Red Squad."

[The material referred to appears in the appendix, p. 201.]

Mrs. NOREN. The Alliance to End Repression is listed as a sponsor of this march, along with other organizations, among which are the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party U.S.A., the Young Socialists Alliance.

As you read over my notes you will see that the Alliance is often talking about lawsuits. The red squad suit, which is mentioned over and over again, was finally filed late last year 1974. There was a suit regarding discriminatory hiring practices in the Chicago Police Department. And as I understand it, the Alliance did the groundwork on this, and then got the Law Enforcement Assistance Association in on it. LEAA then published a report, and the end result was that the Justice Department—and I believe LEAA prior to the Justice Department—filed a suit. The last sentence of my October 17, 1972, notes shows that the Alliance stepped out of the case once they got the Justice Department involved.

Mr. SOURWINE. These notes, were they kept currently by you day by day?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are furnishing them all to the Committee?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN. Under consideration, according to my notes of June 27, 1974, there was a law suit being considered by the Alliance against the city of Chicago and its patronage system. Here again, there is a special interest regarding the police department. And on September 19, 1974, there was a discussion of a law suit against the police department to hold public budget hearings. In addition, the notes from March 19, 1973, indicate involvement of the Alliance in a law suit regarding the Lucas case. There are, from what I understand, other suits in which they have been involved, but I don't have personal knowledge of them.

According to August 29, 1974 and September 19, 1974, these are meetings on those dates—it appears that the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission gave $30,000 to Citizens Alert. Doesn't all this money come from LEAA, as I understand it does? Is the State or Federal money being used to file law suits against the Chicago Police Department? If it is, I think this should be investigated.

One of the things that bothers me are the accountability sessions which the Alliance requested of the superintendent of police. It is not so much that the Alliance makes these requests, but that they are granted by the superintendent. It is my opinion that the Superintendent has enough work to do running the department without being held accountable to a group of people who seem determined to harass the Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the superintendent a satisfactory person to hold his job, in your opinion?

Mrs. NOREN. I greatly admire the superintendent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think he personally made the decisions to grant these requests to which you object?

Mrs. NOREN. I would assume so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then why do you criticize him? You want to run his job, too?

Mrs. NOREN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you are saying, then, I take it, is that the requests should not have been made, that they amount to a harassment.

Mrs. NOREN. I think from the point of view of the Alliance, and what I know, they were there to harass the superintendent.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Do you think the superintendent made a mistake in granting the requests?

Mrs. NOREN. That's my personal opinion.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does that have to do with the subject of the hearing here, do you think we need a new superintendent?

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you bring it up, what's your purpose?

Mrs. NOREN. The purpose is that the Alliance is holding the sessions with the Superintendent; they also plan to hold accountability sessions with about seven other people, and they have made arrangements for this. They also plan to hold accountability sessions with each of the 22 districts in Chicago, and at some point you've got to call a halt. My own feeling is the halt should have been called immediately.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think the superintendent made a mistake. Is there any way to rectify it now?

Mrs. NOREN. I think the word "no" is a simple way.

Mr. SOURWINE. It has been done, he has granted the sessions. You think he should now stop holding them, is that the point? That's what you are advising him to do?

Mrs. NOREN. I have never had an opportunity to talk to the superintendent, but maybe, if he reads this, he will see how a citizen feels.

Mr. SOURWINE. Maybe he will. But this committee is not a forum for the giving of advice to the police superintendent of Chicago. Now, go ahead with your testimony, please.

Mrs. NOREN. As I said the Alliance is trying to schedule accountability sessions with half a dozen other people involved in the police scene. One thing that I have learned is that there is no way to appease people of this type. You make one concession, thinking that will end it, and they come up with two more demands, or law suits.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, this term "accountability session," that is their term.

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It's a propaganda term.

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Actually, the superintendent is not accountable to this group, nor any of the other groups or persons with whom they have proposed to hold, or have held, accountability sessions?

Mrs. NOREN. That's true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN. At one of the meetings of the Alliance that I attended, there was discussion about the possible success of the red squad suit. The comment was made that the success of the law was not important, the important thing was the publicity it would receive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who made that comment?

Mrs. NOREN. I don't have that in my notes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't remember?

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could have been made by anybody at the meeting?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many people were there?

Mrs. NOREN. I don't have that kind of record, I could——

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, from your general knowledge, was it all members of the Alliance?

Mrs. NOREN. No, I think not all members.

Mr. SOURWINE. It might have been by some other person who was not a member of the Alliance.

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir, it would have to be someone who was a member.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why because there was nobody but members of the Alliance present?

Mrs. NOREN. I believe so. If you will let me look at my notes——

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you just said there were people present who were not members of the Alliance.

Mrs. NOREN. Then I misunderstood you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I probably had mush in my mouth. I don't mean to harass you. If there was nobody there but members of the Alliance, then the comment was made to you by a member of the Alliance, right?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN. They said the important thing was the publicity that it would receive. When the law suit was filed it received only a minimum amount of publicity. It was evident something would have to be done to keep this type of news on the front page of the papers. In support of this statement I would like to quote from the Alliance to End Repression progress report of May 1975.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a lengthy quotation?

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are furnishing this to the committee?

[The report referred to will be found in the testimony of Eugene Dorneker at p. 74.]

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

The Alliance's most dramatic single-stroke achievement in its five-year history came from the expose of the police infiltrators. The Red Squad law suit, while technically alive, appeared to be dying for lack of interest. Motions for discovery had not been granted. The pace was slow. In an effort to pick up the pace and encourage public interest, Rick Gutman, a volunteer attorney with Citizens Alert tried to interest news reports in the suit, but no one with the Intelligence Division was talking with reporters, and the reporters had no documentray information linking the Red Squad to questionable activities. An anonymous police informant did reveal to Citizens Alert that there had been a fire in an Intelligence Division file cabinet. A motion to turn over the files for safekeeping to the court, based on the fire department's report of the fire, was denied. Reporters did not at first follow through on our report of the fire. Finally Rick Gutman obtained a copy of the Chicago Police Department's payroll. He reasoned that police officers doing undercover work would have to be on the payroll if they were getting paid for their work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Excuse me a moment. How do you know what he reasoned?

Mrs. NOREN. I am reading from the Alliance progress report.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK.

Mrs. NOREN. These are their words, not mine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Gutman authorize this, or have anything to do with its preparation?

Mrs. NOREN. I have no way of knowing.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK, go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN [reading].

He looked for persons assigned to 175 payroll code, for the Intelligence Division. There, in category 099 entitled "assignment unknown", he saw six names, including those of Geno Addams, who had infiltrated the Alliance; and Howard Pointer, who had infiltrated Push. Milton Cohen helped Rick identify Mark

Solon as the past president of the Organization for a Better Austin. Since the other officers were listed as white males, Rick Gutman called what he thought would be a likely white target for police infiltration, the Citizens Action Program. The CAP people were surprised to hear the name Melvin Barna, a close CAP associate. Daily News reporters Larry Green and Rob Warden were called. At a meeting on the street, which ironically is the way Red Squad agents turn over their information to their superiors, Rick Gutman turned over his information to the reporters. He had an agreement with them that the Alliance would be given credit for breaking the story.

Mrs. NOREN. That was the end of that document.

From the April 1975 progress report, they admit "The publicity aftermath was enormous, putting the Alliance's name on the front pages for days."

During my tenure with the Alliance they wanted to elect me as one of their officers, I refused. They also tried to interest me in heading up one of their task forces. I refused. They also offered me the paid position as research person for the Citizens Alert, and again I refused.

The last meeting of Citizens Alert which I attended was May 23, 1975. The discussion centered around the necessity of Alliance people to obtain positions on the beat representative program of every police district. This is a new program sponsored by the superintendent of police. We went around the room, each one of us telling about police districts in which we lived. Fred Glick was from the 20th district and said he was working with an Edgewater group to gain entrance to the program. Ruth Wells in the Filmore District, was trying to work there. John Hill is in district 19, the Town Hall District; and he said he was getting involved in the Lake View Citizens Council in order to get on the beat program. And so on around the room, each one telling of their efforts to get on the program.

I asked the question at that meeting, "Do you intend to hold accountability sessions with the district commander in each district", and the answer was, "Yes". A couple of weeks before this meeting took place I had a phone conversation with Richard Criley, we discussed the beat representative program. Richard Criley said that he was very interested in the program and its potentials. He said to me, "This is the first step toward community control of the police."

Needless to say, I do not take the Alliance to End Repression lightly, it is an organization which moves skillfully towards its goals. A statement which was made by Richard Criley—in my notes on March 12, 1972—is of great significance to me. He said this: "Each thing you do is a battle in the war, and therefore the battle must be handled in such a way that you win the war."

To me that very well demonstrates the function, how the Alliance to End Repression functions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that conclude your presentation?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes. Can I comment on questions which you asked?

Mr. SOURWINE. We will be glad to have your answers to questions directed to someone else if you don't agree with the answers. Frankly, I have a couple of questions for you.

You have apparently been very useful to the Chicago Police Department, you have furnished them a lot of information. Has the Chicago Police Department ever paid you any of your out-of-pocket expenses in connection with this operation?

Mrs. NOREN. I was reimbursed for the expenses I incurred.

Mr. SOURWINE. All of them?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been paid, reimbursed in full for your actual out-of-pocket expenses?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since the beginning?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by the "beginning?"

Mrs. NOREN. Well, as I said in my presentation, I called the police department and they said they were interested.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you called?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had an understanding at the outset that you would be reimbursed for your expenses?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Outside of your expenses, have you received any other remuneration of any kind from the Chicago Police Department?

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or at their instigation?

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions at this moment.

Now we have one more witness. Take the ball, sir.

## TESTIMONY OF DAVID CUSHING

Mr. CUSHING. Well, first of all I would like to make a statement to the effect that I do not have a prepared statement such as Mrs. Noren or Officer Dorneker have had, partly for the reason of the time—because I was not notified until 2 days ago of this proceeding; and partly because of the fact, the situation has been mentioned several times, that the records are under lock and key.

I think it's important for me to emphasize that I served as an undercover police officer for a period in excess of 5 years. I will answer any and all questions to the best of my ability, but I want you to clearly understand that they are coming off the top of my head, so to speak, and in order to give specific answers, documented answers, it would be virtually impossible for me to do so at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's all right. I only make the documentation clear when a person purports to be testifying from documentation. If you testify from memory, unless it is apparent there is something wrong with your testimony, you won't be questioned about it, except to make the record more clear what it is you are saying.

Now, during the 5 years you have been an undercover policeman, how much of that time have you worked on anything connected with the "Alliance to End Repression?"

Mr. CUSHING. Well, my first connection with the Alliance to End Repression goes back to, I would say, to the late spring of 1970. The first connection I had was at the time the alliance was originally being organized. Richard Criley and John Hill were making appearances at different organizations to give information about the Alliance, and to solicit the membership of those groups.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at that time connected with the Chicago PD?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes; I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. CUSHING. As a sworn police officer.

Mr. SOURWINE. And were you undercover at the time?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes; I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Working on something else?

Mr. CUSHING. This was in the very, very beginning, probably, I would say, within a month or a matter of several weeks of my beginning as a police officer, and as undercover agent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think you were taken on to be an undercover agent in connection with the Alliance, or were you taken on and then given Alliance assignment?

Mr. CUSHING. I was taken on and then given the Alliance assignment.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you got one almost immediately.

Mr. CUSHING. Indirectly, sir. I attended a meeting at which the Alliance was talked about, and then subsequently joined another organization, and was sent as a representative of that organization——

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that organization?

Mr. CUSHING. It was the Southwest Committee on Peaceful Equality.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which is a member of the Alliance?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were a delegate to the Alliance from that organization?

Mr. CUSHING. And that was approximately 4, or 5 months later, that that organization sent me as a delegate to the Alliance.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Did you become eventually a member of the Alliance?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hold any position of authority, or responsibility in the Alliance?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes; I was from the very beginning a member of the board of directors of the Cook County Special Bail project.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that project.

Mr. CRUSHING. The Cook County Special Bail project originally was known as a task force of the Alliance to End Repression, a bail task force. The primary purpose of the bail task force was to investigate the operations of the holiday court system in the first district, which is basically the city of Chicago, and to promote court reform and provide legal counsel to people who had been arrested, and appearing for the initial bail appearance.

Subsequently because of the fact that the Alliance to End Repression could not get the tax status—because of their lobbying activities—the task force was split off as a separate entity, and then became officially the Cook County Special Bail project. The initial reason being to separate the Alliance's political activity from the bail project, and the bail project then was eligible to receive funding.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was a tax deductible organization?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Clerical and educational, I suppose?

Mr. CUSHING. It finally received that status; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. I think it would be pertinent to comment on what was asked about earlier about the Federal funding through the LEAA and through the ILEC, and that some of the people who had participated in the bail project later became officials in the ILEC. Warren

Wolfson was on the board of directors, and when he was appointed to ILEC resigned his position, so that he would not have a conflict of interest. And Steve Schiller, who was on the advisory committee of the special bail project later was appointed—I'm not sure of the title—either as the chairman, or as the president of the Cook County Criminal Justice Commission, I believe. That information is available, I hope it's accurate.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it is not, you fix it when you correct your testimony. When did you first become aware, if you did, that the bail project was being used for purposes of police harassment?

Mr. CUSHING. Well, sir, I think for the record it would be necessary to state, that I think personally the bail project does a lot of worthwhile good; that there are some possibly 300 members of the bail project, volunteer members, who go into the court system, work on Saturdays and Sundays, for no pay. And then, overall the bail project—and that is only my opinion—does a tremendous amount of worthwhile good.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if that is the case, does it make any difference that it was originally started as a task force of the Alliance?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir; it makes a difference because of the fact that Federal funding is provided to the bail project through this organization. In fact, it pays the telephone bill and rent for the Alliance To End Reprsesion. Their offices are held in joint headquarters. The Alliance has, at different points in time, had serious financial difficulties. It would be my opinion that without the Federal funding supporting the bail project, that the Alliance would not have been financially able to continue.

Mr. SOURWINE. How is the Alliance otherwise financed, do you know?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir. The Alliance was financed, also, through the bail project in the early stages, through various grants from private foundations that contributed to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any of these foundations? Let me put it this way, can you supply us for the record when you correct your testimony a list of what you know about sources of funds?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir; all of this could be supplied if you could give me a few minutes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't bother with it if you can put it in the record.

Mr. CUSHING. All of this can be supplied.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

[The material referred to follows:]

ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION,
*Chicago, Ill., October —, 1970.*

DEAR FRIEND: In the six months since the Alliance to End Repression opened its office, it has proved its effectiveness as a center for a movement to resist the ever-mounting encroachments of a potential police state. We have proved our ability to unite a wide spectrum of concerned organizations from the ghettos to the suburbs. Significant, if partial, victories show us to be a positive force on the concrete issues which constitute the battleground for our freedoms.

I am sure that you share these estimates from your own observations and experience, and can see the potential of what the Alliance can become.

One single factor endangers the very existence of the Alliance—*inadequate operating funds.* We have been perhaps too slow to face this reality ourselves and to share it with our co-workers. The day-to-day pressures of keeping up with an ever-expanding workload and organizational structure have consumed all of our time and energy—but now we must give *finances* a priority or we risk losing all that has been achieved.

Since April 1, 1970, the Alliance has incurred expenditures and obligations totalling more than $12,000.

Total income, most of which has come from a few large donations which are not renewable, has been less than $8,000.

Still more serious, the Alliance is operating at a monthly deficit of $1,500, adding to our arrears of over $4,000.

Our greatest present capital lies in the many individuals who, like yourself, are convinced of the value and importance of the Alliance and simply will not let it die from lack of funding, even if it means a personal sacrifice.

If we can quickly create a base of some 200 sustainers contributing from five to ten dollars per month on a regular basis, we shall have a solid foundation for solving our fiscal problem.

Can you make a commitment for such a monthly contribution? Can you solicit similar pledges from two or three friends or associates?

Please respond as soon as you can, as each day is adding to our already alarming deficit.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD CRILEY,
*Acting Chairman for Finances.*

| Affiliated organizations | Current | Projected | Revised projection |
|---|---|---|---|
| West Side Christian Parish | $250 | $200 | |
| Concerned Argonne Scientists | 25 | 50 | |
| Winnetka HRC | 110 | 110 | |
| 1st Unitarian | 1,000 | 1,000 | |
| 13th Cong. Dist. Politics/Peace | 30 | 40 | |
| Nat'l Ass'n Social Workers | 574 | | |
| Oak Park-River Forest Cit. Comm./H.R. | 50 | 100 | |
| Wellington Ave. Cong. Ch | 100 | 100 | |
| Women's Int'l League/P&F, North Shore | 25 | 25 | |
| Mattachine Midwest | 25 | 50 | |
| Chi Area Fellowship/Renewal | 50 | 75 | |
| Wilmette HRC | 20 | 120 | |
| Ethical Humanists | 50 | 100 | |
| Near No. U/U Fellowship | 20 | 30 | |
| Countryside U/U Fellowship | 25 | 50 | |
| Chi. Comm. to Defend B/R | 250 | 250 | |
| Glenview HRC | 5 | 25 | |
| Uni. Methodist Bd. of Soc. Concern | 200 | 200 | |
| Northside Friends | 20 | 30 | |
| Med. Comm. H/R | 50 | 75 | |
| Evanston-Niles-Nat'l Council Jewish Women | 25 | 50 | |
| Comm. Against Nazism and Facism | 50 | | |
| Samuel Mem. Comm. Ch | 10 | | |
| Chi. Comm./Nat'l Priorities | 34 | | |
| Friendship House | | | |
| 3d Unitarian | 50 | 100 | |
| Arlington Hts. HRC | 5 | 25 | |
| 57th St. Friends | 70 | 100 | |
| Total | 3,123 | 2,905 | |

BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH,
*Washington, D.C., September 6, 1973.*

The Reverend C. ALFRED PATTEN,
*Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR AL: It has been some months since I have been directly in touch with you, but through Mrs. Fran Mettling and Mrs. Mary Powers, I have been kept somewhat informed about the work of the Board of Church and Society of the Northern Illinois Conference.

As you may be aware, from 1969 to 1972, there was a Police and Community Relations Project which was financed by the Fund for Reconciliation. The Project related to police and community relations task forces, which had religious community sponsorship, in approximately sixteen cities. The Project terminated the latter part of June in 1972, but the General Conference of 1972 voted to include the Police Community Relations Project in the appeal of the Human Relations Day Offering which is received the last Sunday in January.

We have been informed about the money which is available for the Police Community Relations Project for this year, and I am proposing to you that we situate one of the projects in Chicago, Illinois, and that we work through Citizens Alert of the Alliance to End Repression.

The Project would consist of our furnishing $1,000 to Citizens Alert, with your approval, and an additional $500.00 which would be paid directly to the Board of Church and Society of the Northern Illinois Conference. The $500.00 amount, it is suggested, would be used by your Board for materials and for any other expenses in informing Chicago area churches about their responsibility in bettering police and community relationships. I believe that Mrs. Adelle Noren of your Board is working closely with Citizens Alert and could probably be the liaison person between that project and your Board.

We would attempt to furnish staff support for the program and would probably be able to furnish a consultant from time to time who would offer further assistance to you.

I don't want to make this program sound complicated or to suggest that it would necessarily create any further programmatic burden for you. I think it would simply offer some support for some things you are already doing and might help to widen the awareness of the churches responsibility in this critical area.

Will you let me know your response to this. I am ready to move expeditiously on it.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. ADAMS,
*Director,*
*Department of Law, Justice and Community Relations.*

Mr. CUSHING. Part of the other funding activities of the Alliance is a list of regular monthly contributors, and the Alliance has continued this from its very early stages, where people would make pledges, as they would to their church, to the organization; they contribute $x$ number of dollars per month. These are $5, or $10, or more contributions per month. In addition to that, the alliance periodically holds fundraising activities. They are never exclusively fundraising, that is one of their policies, it has an educational scope. They will have a program, a dinner meeting, there will be speakers invited. There will be a list of topics that will be discussed, an appropriate speaker will present those topics and then, in the course of that, they will have a public collection. This is also part of the funding that is raised by the alliance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say the funding of the Alliance has been adequate since it was founded?

Mr. CUSHING. I would say it has been adequate due to the fact the Alliance has survived, it continues to do business.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think it could not have done so without the LEAA money?

Mr. CUSHING. I think it would have been very difficult for it to do so. At one point in time, where the Alliance was several months in arrears in paying the salaries of the two staff persons, John Hill and Betty Plank, arrangements were made that the bail project would pay a consultant's fee to John Hill as an advisor to the bail project. To the best of my knowledge, that fee continues to be paid to this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much is that?

Mr. CUSHING. I'm not certain. I believe it's $250 a month, but I would have to check that figure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he an advisor for the bail project?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, he does serve as an advisor for the bail project.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he have other sources of income?

Mr. CUSHING. He is paid a salary by the Alliance directly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how much that is?

Mr. CUSHING. I would believe it to be in the area of $12,000 to $14,000 per year. Again, I have heard the figure, but it was a long time ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then, roughly, the bail project supplements his income by 11 to 16 percent, somewhere along there?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir.

It also could be brought out that at the time the stipend, however you refer to it, was given to John Hill, that he was financially in need. Now, at a later point in time this money from the bail project was continued, and at that point in time John Hill's salary was up to date from the Alliance. The arrangement was that the money would be continued to be paid to John Hill from the bail project, and John Hill would contribute that money to the alliance itself.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was a direct subsidization of the Alliance by its own spinoff, the bail project?

Mr. CUSHING. To my understanding, yes. Now, whether that money was actually given by John Hill to the Alliance, I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much of the bail project's funds is this $65,000 that has come from the LEAA?

Mr. CUSHING. It would have to be considered the lion's share of their funding.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. NOREN. Could I add some pertinent information at this point? In all the years I attended the Alliance, I never heard a financial report, such as income or expense, this was never given, even though I was on the steering committee.

The second thing I would like to say, that on June 22, 1975, on radio station WDHF John Hill was interviewed. I have a tape of that which I will be glad to bring to the meeting. At that time he said, if my recollection is correct, that 50 percent of the Alliance's funding comes from LEAA.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You don't challenge the financial information that has just been given to us?

Mrs. NORTH. No, the only thing is that my understanding was that each of the task forces paid John Hill a certain amount of money every year as a consultant's fee. And it was the money coming in from the various task forces that helped pay his salary.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he was paid money by the bail task force, when it was the bail task force, before it became the bail project.

Mrs. NOREN. The bail task force I don't know about, I know about "Citizens Alert."

Mr. CUSHING. If I may interject, it was the same organization, but I believe at the time it received its first funding, it had already been known as the Cook County Special Bail project, if that clarifies it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that does clarify that thing, but it contradicts the lady's testimony. She just said it goes back before it was the bail project, when it was the bail task force, and all other task forces were paying money to Mr. Hill. I'm going to have to find out if that's true.

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir. What I am saying, it is a generic term, the bail project would be referred to, to this day, as the bail task force.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that what you are doing?

Mrs. NOREN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, you are not giving new testimony.

Mrs. NOREN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. Before I leave the area of the bail task force, I want to emphasize the fact that there are a lot of good, honest, and sincere

people who are working on the bail task force, and in light of the other testimony here——

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean the bail project?

Mr. CUSHING. Right. In light of the other testimony, which is aimed, in my opinion, not at the Cook County Special Bail project directly, but indirectly through the Alliance To End Repression, I don't want to misconstrue that and cast any shadows, or doubts on those people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that's fine. Go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. All right, sir. One other point that I would like to go back to, that Mrs. Noren was talking about, that the intelligence officers were identified. All of that information has not yet been made available to us. However, in the alliance publication, which is their May 1975 progress report they said—and that was Rick Gutman who was given the information—in payroll category 175, under subcategory 099, they were given the names of six police officers. They identified publicly five of the six police officers.

Now, I do not know, and have not yet been able to get access to who was the sixth police officer, the name that was given to them. I believe that my name was the sixth name.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not one of the five.

Mr. CUSHING. No, sir, I was not publicly identified. I did, as a matter of fact, attend the Alliance meeting in which this original announcement was made; not how they did it, but when they initially announced the name of one of the five officers who were identified.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if you are identified by any member of the press, walking around the halls of the Congress, and word should get out that you testified here, the necessary presumption to be made by the Alliance and others would be that you are the sixth officer, or at least in that category.

Mr. CUSHING. Let me continue because I think you are missing the point that I was trying to make.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please, go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. It is my belief that if it is documented—and it very well may be—that I was the sixth officer, that at that point in time when the five officers were identified, the Alliance definitely knew that I was a police officer. They did not at that point in time identify me as a police officer, as they did the others, and subsequent to that the Alliance called me—after I had been pulled out of the Alliance—and encouraged me and tried to get me to come to meetings and continue my participation. In my belief, had I done so, it would have been used for the purpose of trying to embarrass the superintendent because he was then quoted as saying, "We do not have any police officers in your organization." I think that is an important point to be made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good. Go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. One other thing here that Officer Dorneker was asked about, and I think this is a quote from the April 1975 Alliance progress report, I'll just read this. It goes back to the press, and I'll make it short and not belabor it.

Red Squad Expose. Rick Gutman, volunteer attorney for the Citizens Alert project and the Alliance to End Repression was one who identified the Red Squad undercover agents and names of the Chicago civic groups they had infiltrated. The information was turned over to the Chicago Daily News reporters Larry Greene and Rob Warden with the agreement that the Alliance be given credit for uncovering the facts.

I just wanted to point out that this is not our words, it's their words, that they were giving this confidential information to the press for the purpose of publication.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fine.

Mr. CUSHING. I think one of the comments that they consistently make is that the people have a right to privacy. Unfortunately we find ourselves in the position that as an intelligence division officer I may not give any information to anyone, it is classified and confidential. And they are on the one hand accusing us of wrongdoing, and on the other hand they are doing exactly what they have accused us of doing. We are in a position that we may not come up publicly and defend ourselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. CUSHING. In view of the fact that Deputy Superintendent Ware has commented—and this of course I did not know—about some physical danger that existed, I think we should make it a matter of the record that at least in my case in one instance my home was attempted to be entered by people posing as public utilitymen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Persons unknown to you?

Mr. CUSHING. Persons unknown to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whose identity you have never yet learned?

Mr. CUSHING. I was not able to find out who they were, other than that they definitely were not——

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. CUSHING. I can't give you the date now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you insert it in the record when you correct your testimony?

Mr. CUSHING. Within the past few months, maybe a month ago. No, excuse me, it was longer than 2 months ago. At the time that this particular incident occurred, it was known, this is when I was still out on the street, if you will, that I was not home at the time. And these particular individuals tried to enter my home, and my wife was there alone.

[This attempt was made on March 13, 1975 and another on June 17, 1975.]

So, I do not feel—you know, I am not trying to raise anybody's suspicion, but I do feel that there is some degree of concern that should be placed on this matter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, the committee, I think, would want to avoid asking you questions which would increase your peril in any way.

Mr. CUSHING. The other point that I would like to discuss with you is what I believe to be a very effective job done by the Alliance and the other people involved, to accomplish one of their primary, if indeed not their number 1 goal throughout the years, which has been to effectively eliminate what they refer to as the Chicago Red Squad. The Alliance has, in my opinion, effectively blown the cover of all the Chicago undercover police officers to my knowledge, although I do not have complete knowledge of this subject. It is my opinion that at this point in time it would be impossible for the Chicago Police Department to take any police officer in any capacity and place him in undercover work without that individual being identified.

I think that causes a serious threat not just to intelligence activities, but to the overall work of the Chicago Police Department because of the critical importance of intelligence information to other law enforcement functions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you haven't said it, but you have implied pretty clearly that the Chicago PD is infiltrated by subversive groups, or individuals supplying information to subversive groups. How about that?

Mr. CUSHING. Well, sir, as far as my initial entrance into the Chicago Police Department, information was made available to me, that there were informants within the Chicago Police Department——

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you believe it?

Mr. CUSHING [continuing]. If not within the intelligence division itself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you believe it to be true?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Obviously you must feel the situation is prety bad when you say that it would be impossible for the Chicago Police Department to put an undercover man on assignment without it being known because that means that you don't think the commissioner could use his discretionary funds for that purpose, or that funds could be lawfully used for police appropriations without having that word get outside the department.

Mr. Cushing. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. No matter how closely held, people could have access to it and it would be blown.

Mr. CUSHING. Well, it would not just be people. Under the operation now, and the degree of sophistication of the people getting this information, it would be a matter of public record.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean the department's entire operation, including all intelligence activities are a matter of public record, open to disclosure, and there really is no more undercover activity.

Mr. CUSHING. I don't see how there could be.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a terrible situation. If it's true in other police departments, we are even worse off than the public knows.

Mr. CUSHING. I think the critical thing is, for example, information that is gathered in the case of demonstrations. The information there is of critical importance to the patrol division in terms of manpower; who is going to demonstrate; who is going to counterdemonstrate; will there be violence, or potential for violence, this type of information which enables the patrol division to adequately prepare for and handle any type of potential or real civil disturbance. Without the information supplied through the intelligence gathering process it will be difficult, if not impossible for them to control those situations. Certainly it would mean that they would have to use much, much more physical measures to handle the situations than they did in the past.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have seen this elsewhere. In the District of Columbia a few years back we had people in six figures coming here to demonstrate. The police knew pretty well who was coming, from where, how many, on what routes, when they would arrive, and they were able to handle the situation. They did an amazingly good job when you count the number of police that were used and the number of people that were handled. This year we may have a demonstration in the District, and the police may not know about it until they get here.

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. On a recent demonstration on the Hill, I don't believe the police department knew about it until the day before.

Mr. CUSHING. If I may elaborate on that point because you are referring to the Capital, and I am a Chicago police officer in Chicago. I have, in the past, participated in intelligence gathering activities here in your city. I think it's critical for people to realize that I am not referring simply to Chicago because the information on groups from Chicago, groups that are traveling to Washington or anywhere else, they will not get that information by people who are on the job in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's what I hope to bring out, there must be cooperation between police departments, mustn't there?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As long as we are going to have terrorism and active demonstrations, whether they are violent demonstrations or planned as violent demons'rations, we are going to have blood in the streets and crossing State lines—we are going to have to have some method of coordinating intelligence. If you kill coordination through the elimination of all coordinating bodies, you've got nothing. If you eliminate police intelligence activities in major cities around the country, you've got nothng to start with.

Have you any suggestions as to what the answer should be, any advice as to what the Congress could do by way of legislature, to assist?

Mr. CUSHING. Well, for me from my position to advise the Congress might seem like taking a giant step forward. I do firmly believe that something does need to be done. I think if you give me time to sit down and prepare recommendations, not only for myself but others, I certainly think recommendations could be made. But at this point in time I do feel that some type of legislation would be necessary. I do feel that there needs to be a continuing cooperation not only among local police departments, but between different law enforcement agencies at different levels of government.

For example, 1976 is our Bicentennial Year. Now, there has been information—and I think it could be given to you if you wanted it—that it might be a very hot summer in 1976 for the Bicentennial celebration. Now, given the situation as I see it, with the lack of intelligence information, I think there may indeed by a very severe problem in trying to handle whatever may occur in Washington next year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any suggestions to make—and that goes for the other witnesses, when you correct your testimony—that you don't have now, please feel free. It will be subject to the chairman's order with regard to admission, but I am sure that any suggestions you have to make will be admitted.

[The following letter subsequently was received from Mr. Cushing.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *August 26, 1975.*

Senator STROM THURMOND,
*U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: Enclosed is the corrected copy of my testimony before your Subcommittee on Internal Security. You may recall that at the time it was explained to the committee that I had been undercover for over five years and therefore it was virtually impossible to testify accurately on specific details without first researching our files to refresh my memory.

I returned to Chicago with the understanding that these files would be made available to me. They have not. Therefore, I am not able to comply fully with the requests of your committee.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID E. CUSHING.

Do you have anything further to add?

Mr. DORNEKER. Yes, sir, one more item. The Socialist Workers Party is a coplaintiff in the lawsuit against the intelligence division of the Chicago Police Department. The lawsuit was filed by the Alliance to End Repression. On February 19, 1975 certain remarks were contained in the Congressional Record and in part they state that James Cannon, who is the Socialist Workers Party founder wrote a thesis on American revolution. In part it said:

The hopeless contradiction of American capitalism, inextricably tied up with the gut agony of world capitalism are bound to lead to a social crisis of such catastropic proportions as will place a proletarian revolution on the order of the day. The revolutionary vanguard party destined to lead this tumultuous revolutionary movement in the U.S. does not have to be created, it already exists, and its name is the Socialist Workers Party.

He goes on to say:

We are not for reforming of the capitalist police force, we stand for its complete dismantling and abolition.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, this of course is the Communist position, that the Socialist Workers Party is a Marxist party. And by way of comment, that isn't a new thing that we should have intelligence activity. Much of the publications and publicity of those who are harassing the police make it sound as though this is something new, a recently developed invasion of citizens' rights. The fact is, we wouldn't have had any battle of Bunker Hill if it hadn't been for the excellent intelligence of the Committee of Patriots and Sam Adams' people. When they found out the British were going to occupy Bunker Hill, they decided they would occupy it first; that's how the battle of Bunker Hill, or Breed's Hill, came about.

It might not hurt if we stress some of these facts, that you can't run any kind of a law enforcement operation, any more than you could any kind of a war, or any kind of a revolution, without intelligence.

And the enemy—and subversive organizations are the enemy—seeks to eliminate intelligence by this law and order side through its harassment of the police department. I didn't mean to testify as a witness.

Do any of you three have anything further you wish to add? Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Do the witnesses have anything further they wish to contribute to this hearing? Feel free to say anything else, if you like.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, each of the witnesses has furnished the documentation which we requested, memorandiums, and other materials, which support their testimony. I believe the record will show it's already in; but perhaps we should have an inclusive order from the Chair that all this material so received may be made a part of the record, subject to the rules of the Chair on whether it goes into the body, or the appendix.

Senator THURMOND. Well, without objection the material received, all the documents and other materials, will be made a part of the record. The Chair will make a decision as to whether it will be printed, or whether it will be held for reference.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good, sir.

Senator THURMOND. If the witnesses have nothing else, and counsel has nothing else, we will declare the hearing closed. And again, I want to express my appreciation to the witnesses who came here today and testified. We thank you for your appearance, and we are hopeful that the hearing will be helpful to our country. Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

# APPENDIX

The following excerpts were taken from a publication prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, 1961:

"The committee has ascertained that a Communist front is an organization or publication created or captured by the Communists to do the party's work in areas where an openly Communist project would be unwelcome. Because subterfuge often makes it difficult to recognize its true nature, the Communist front has become an important weapon of communism in this country. A Communist front, for example, may camouflage its true purposes behind such moral and human appeals as "peace" and "civil rights" while serving the aims of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

"By 'outright' Communist enterprises, the committee refers to such organizations as the Communist Party, U.S.A., whose subservience to the Soviet Union and international communism cannot be disguised. An examination of this compilation will disclose relatively few organizations of this nature as compared with the hundreds of front organizations controlled by the Communist Party in the United States.

"The committee believes that the issuance of this edition of its Guide is particularly instructive in view of the Communists revival, following the death of Stalin in 1953, of their "united front" strategy of the 1930's. In contrast to the overtly hostile attitude adopted by Communists in the post World War II period, a switch in party line decreed by Soviet Communist leaders calls for Communists to extend their hands in "friendship" and "cooperation" with non-Communists—whether as nations, organizations or individuals.

"Similar efforts to create what Communists called a "united front" with non-Communists occurred in the mid-1930's as a direct result of the Soviet Union's fear of the rising power of the Fascist dictatorships. A multitude of Communist fronts flourished in the United States in that period because thousands of dupes were lulled by the Communists' siren song of friendship. Many of the organizations which operated at that time are listed in this compilation.

"The current 'united front' strategy was decreed by the post-Stalin 'collective leadership' of the Soviet Union and continued by Nikita Khrushchev when he inherited Josef Stalin's mantle as supreme Soviet dictator. The united front was one of a number of new strategies adopted to meet the exigencies of the post-Stalin leadership. Communist-front organizations which have been established in the United States since the mid-1950's, as well as previously established organizations under Communist control, have exploited the united front technique to the utmost.

"Americans who are mindful of previous Communist duplicity along the same lines will not be fooled by the Communists' "extended hand of friendship" and will withhold their support from presently operating Communist and Communist-front enterprises. In view of the devious disguises employed by Communist-front groups, however, the committee believes that this revised Guide will provide additional assistance to those who would avoid aiding a subversive cause. Many Communist fronts currently functioning in the United States are identified in this compilation."

An open example of a Communist front organization is the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly known as the National Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC (House Internal Security Committee), formerly the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, a group cited to be a Communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1962, vol. 2, pages 1467–2201, Hearings and Reports of the House of Representatives on Un-American Activities, 87th Congress, 2d Session, 1962.

The National Committee to Abolish HUAC was cited as a "New Organization" set up in the summer of 1960 "to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign." "Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists" as revealed in House Report 1278 on the Truth

About the Film "Operation Abolition," part 1, Oct. 3, 1961. This Operation Abolition was a direct frontal assault campaign, launched by the Communist Party, USA, to abolish the House Internal Security Committee.

The National Committee to Abolish HUAC, now known as National Committee Against Repressive Legislation has as its Executive Director Frank Wilkinson, National Office located 555 N. Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Frank Wilkinson was a topic of discussion in House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, Committee on Un-American Activities, 3 April 1959. The report spoke of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms:

"The (Communist) party's front operations in the Southern California District today are, confined to four major organizations, which included the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by Frank Wilkinson, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles September 2–5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the committee. Communists subpenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman, Dorothy Healey in a report to the party's Southern District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. Healey declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

In the Committee on Un-American Activities, annual report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, reference was made to the aforementioned Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as it being:

"An organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. The comittee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operated as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material."

Frank Wilkinson was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 Wilkinson was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became hearings. Wilkinson has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee found that a number of other individuals connected with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had been identified under oath as Communists.

Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, follows with this concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the,

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

A Chicago based organization that is directly affiliated with the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation is the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights is the successor committee to the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights which after 1959 was located at 189 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois. This organization is the Midwest Regional Office of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

Located at the 189 W. Madison address with the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 8th floor, was the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on the 4th floor. Testimony of Lola Belle Holmes as reported in Hearings before Committee on Un-American Activities 89th Congress, Communist Activities in the Chicago, Illinois Area, part 1 states:

"They (Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights) had offices on the 8th floor, and the Midwest Committee had offices on the 4th floor. They had an extension phone from the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights to the Midwest Committee office which, when I was off or when there was no other help there, Richard Criley answered the phone and took care of the Midwest Committee's affairs."

Miss Holmes identified Criley as the executive officer of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, a member of the Communist Party and formerly a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party.

Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, reports on the Midwest Committee For Protection of Foreign Born:

"Documentary evidence in the form of official publications of the American Committee (for Protection of Foreign Born) and of various of the so-called area or local committees (including the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born) established a continuous and consistent pattern of authoritative references to the American Committee as the national office or national organization, and the area or local committees as 'part of' and 'affiliated to' the American Committee."

"The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the various area or local committees, constitute one organization within the meaning of the statute (Internal Security Act) under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General.

"Cited as a 'regional organization' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 'the Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organization.'

"Control of the organizations was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local groups were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the party. The local affiliates were actually little more than administrative staffs whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was established in 1947 in Chicago."

Exhibit #1, a letter from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born shows a list of sponsors and among them are Rev. William Baird, Richard Criley and Frank Wilkinson. Criley is an identified member of the Communist Party, USA, having been identified by Carl Nelson, an informant, at House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) hearings in 1959 and Lola Belle Holmes at HCUA hearings in 1965. It is important to note that Criley and his organization the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights both play a leading role in Chicago events.

This comes to light in the formation of the Alliance To End Repression, now located at 22 East Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. A major behind the scene influence in the Alliance activities is Richard Criley. Criley's prominence and role in the Alliance was revealed at a public meeting of over 1000 people when the Chairman of the Alliance described Criley as "the founding father of the Alliance."

Exhibit #2, issued by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and signed by Richard Criley executive director, solicits funds for the Alliance To End Repression as it was in serious financial condition. The letter in part states,

"In our judgment, the Alliance is the most significant development in the entire country in the area of civil liberties and civil rights." Most significant is the remark, "As one of the organizations which helped to create the Alliance, we (Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights) believe that its tremendous promise must not be jeopardized by a critical—if temporary—lack of operating funds."

Letter exhibit #2 is printed on Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights stationery and shows as its vice chairman Rev. William Baird, Executive Director Richard L. Criley, Advisory Council Rev. Martin Deppe, John Kearney, Board of Directors Milton Cohen, Rev. Francis J. McGrath and Jesse Prosten to name but a few.

The National Committee Against Repressive Legislation which is the national office of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, prepared and distributed literature in the form of a booklet (exhibit #3), "is designed to provide you with the specific information which you need to act—in time to check the repressive schemes of the Executive and Legislative branches of our government." The portion of this booklet that further tells the story of the creation of the Alliance To End Repression is the proposal by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation that concerned organizations "take immediate steps to join with other concerned groups" in their community "to form an Alliance Against Repression—to unite the work against racism, war and repression."

Exhibit #4 shows a leaflet concerning an open meeting which featured as one of the speakers Rev. John Hill Chairman of the Alliance Against Repression. This information coupled with the admission of Richard Criley that the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights helped create the Alliance (exhibit #2) and a statement by Rev William Baird when he, "told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance to End Repression; it took 27 years to get it together," gives the background of who brought the Alliance into existence (exhibit#5).

As the name Richard L. Criley, "the founding father of the Alliance", keeps appearing, the following information should be kept in mind: He has been identified as Executive Director of Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (exhibit #2), sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (exhibit #1), co-founder of Chicago Fair Play for Cuba Committee with John Rossen (exhibit #6). According to the January 19, 1962 Daily News, "In 1934, he (Criley) was an organizer for the Young Communist League of California and became its president in 1940, according to public records." United States DIEs Committee Vol. 1–3A, Hearings 1938–1939, from the hearings of HCUA entitled "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States," Vol. 1, beginning on page 587 and extending to page 590, a list of officers of the Young Communist League, the name Dick Criley appears on column one under the heading "National Council Committee."

In the House Committee on Un-American Activities Hearings entitled, "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Vol. 3, the testimony of Harper L. Knowles of the American Legion Department of California, concerning the American Youth Congress, beginning on page 1979, included the identification of Richard Criley as a Communist. On page 1981 Richard Criley is identified by the witness as a representative "of the San Francisco Young Communist League, and Communist Party."

Departments of State, Justice and Commerce and Judiciary, and related Agencies Appropriations, House of Representatives, part 1, pages 739–740, refer to "Public Appearances of Party (Communist Party USA) Leaders on Campuses, School Year 1968–69, School, Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois, Speaker Richard Criley, Date April 14, 1969. (exhibit #7)

Many of the persons mentioned along with Criley have been identified as Communist Party members or affiliated with identified Communist Party organizations. The organization which Criley and his Communist Party front helped to start is the Alliance To End Repression. The following are members or functionaries of the Alliance and their affiliation with other organizations:

Milton Cohen, identified as member of Communist Party, Communist Activities in the Chicago Area, part 1, Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities House of Representatives, 1965, page 306; member of Board of Directors Chicago Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights (exhibit #2); Secretary of Alliance To End Repression (exhibit #8); Steering Committee Alliance To End Repression (exhibit 9).

Rev. Martin Deppe, identified as member of Alliance To End Repression Steering Committee (exhibit #9A), Advisory Council of Chicago Committee to Defend

the Bill of Rights (exhibit #2), Vice President of Methodist Federation for Social Action (exhibit #5).

Methodist Federation for Social Action was discussed in the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, April 23, 1956, page 91, and referred to in the following manner:

"With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action."

Methodist Federation for Social Action publication, Social Questions Bulletin, number 7, vol. 62, October 1972, (exhibit #5) is quoted as follows:

"Rev. William Baird, Executive Director of the Northern California Committee Against Repressive Legislation, and pastor of the Humanist Church in Oakland, told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance To End Repression; it took 27 years to get it together. Our MFSA vice president Martin Deppe was involved in this project. Chicago is the only place in the U.S. where there is such an alliance. 'I was headlined in the Chicago Tribune as the Red Minister of Chicago.' Feeling that the threat of a police state in the U.S. was very great, the Alliance helped to get 50 anti-Daley delegates elected to the Democratic Convention. 'A Roman Catholic priest is chairman of the Alliance, a nun is secretary. We won't do anything unless we work with the Gus Halls." (Gus Hall is identified as being General Secretary of the Communist Party USA)

Sylvia Kushner is known to be a member of the Steering Committee of the Alliance To End Repression (exhibit #8) and exhibit #10 shows her as signing a letter as the Executive Secretary of the Chicago Peace Council. The February 6, 1975, Congressional Record identifies the Chicago Peace Council as, "Another CPUSA front group." (exhibit #11)

Jesse Prosten, member of Board of Directors Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (exhibit #2) and has been a staff member of the Finance Committee of the Alliance To End Repression. Identified as member of the Communist Party by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1959.

John Kearney is shown on exhibit #12 as reporting on the activities of the Alliance To End Repression Bail Task Force and exhibit 2 indicates that Kearney was a member of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights Advisory Council.

Francis J. McGrath is listed as being on the Steering Committee of the Alliance To End Repression (exhibit #13) and Vice Chairperson of the Alliance (exhibit #14). Exhibit #2 lists McGrath as a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

To illustrate Communist Party involvement and influence in the formation of the Alliance To End Repression and in its present direction and administration, exhibit 15 shows organizations which have been cited as, "Communist Fronts" and the Alliance being formed by members of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and the Chicago Peace Council. Exhibit #16 shows a breakdown of the same organizations with the persons who are involved.

The Daily World has been identified in testimony before the Committee on Internal Security as the official newspaper of the Communist Party, USA, (page 2230, The Theory and Practice of Communism, part 3, Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security House of Representatives Oct. 17, 1973.) and carried an article on page 9 December 10, 1970, which was captioned, "Hundreds at midwest tribute to Gus Hall." "Among those present" the article included the identification of Claude Lightfoot co-chairman of the Communist Party's Black Liberation Commission and Chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois; Fr. John Hill Chairman of the Alliance To End Repression; and others. (exhibit #17)

Again on October 28, 1971, the Daily World, page 4, there appeared an article titled, "Tribute to Patterson draws a wide array." "Sharing the head table with Patterson (William) and his wife, Louise Thompson Patterson, were Ishmael Flory, master of ceremonies and chairman of the Banquet Committee; Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party leaders; Claude Lightfoot and Arnold Johnson, Communist Party leaders; Mrs. Sallye Davis, mother of Angelea Davis; Pearl Hart, civil liberties attorney; Rev. John Hill, chairman of the Alliance to End Repression; Ernest DeMaio, director of District 11 of the United Electrical Workers; Jack Kling, Secretary of the Illinois Communist Party; Lynn Stinnette, Illinois chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, and Betty Smith and Tommy Deninus, who led delegations from Minnesota and Michigan respectively." Nine of the aforementioned persons who shared the head table have been identified as or admitted that they are members of

functionaries of the Communist Party. Among those seated at the head table paying tribute was John Hill from the Alliance To End Repression. (exhibit #18)

During hearings before the Committee on Internal Security House of Representatives, 1–6 Nov. 1973, and outlined in part 4 of hearings, The Theory and Practice of Communism, Mr. Crandall, counsel for the subcommittee presented the following question to Charles Fitzpatrick who was a member of the Communist Party and confidential informant for the FBI:

"In the following the activities of the Communist Party, USA, in the past several years, have you seen any evidence where it has advocated violence, where they have advocated revolution through force and violence?"

"Mr. Fitzpatrick's answer was, 'Yes.' However, I must say that the CPUSA has for some time been very circumspect in this regard. The leadership, and the membership, fully realize from past experience that there are laws in this country, such as the Smith Act, that carry severe penalties for advocating the overthrow of our Government by violence.

"Revolution through violence is basic in Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, the ideology points out that violence must result only at the proper stage of the revolutionary process.

"I might also add in that connection—the CPUSA's experiences in this country, going back to the period from the 1940's to the 1950's—this committee for a number of years was a very effective anti-Communist voice in our country.

"For one thing, the Communist Party cannot stand exposure of its ideology, of its thrust, its infiltration of legitimate organizations, et cetera. This committee, in their experience and in mine, has been effective both in having them realize that when this topic is discussed, if it is discussed at all, it has to be treated most delicately, most circumspectly. And as I have said, this is predicated on the Smith Act, by exposure from congressional committees, and, of course, by FBI infiltration of the Communist Party."

Infiltration of legitimate organizations such as local civic groups leads to the formation of Communist front organizations which "serve the aims of the Communist Party." An identified Communist helped to form the Alliance To End Repression (Richard Criley), a Communist Party front organization (National Committee Against Repressive Legislation) requested that an Alliance Against Repression be formed, several identified members of the Communist Party are members of the Alliance To End Repression, (Richard Criley, Milton Cohen, Sylvia Kushner) and members of the Alliance To End Repression that hold offices or are members of identified Communist Party front organizations are, Richard Criley, Milton Cohen, Martin Deppe, Frank McGrath, John Kearney, Jesse Prosten and Sylvia Kushner.

Charles Fitzpatrick spoke of an International meeting of the communist and workers parties in Moscow 5–17 June 1969. Among the 70 Communist Parties represented at the meeting, was Gus Hall Communist Party USA National Chairman. The conference issued a main report of which 15 were considered to be vital points. Two points which concern this report are: In its actions against the working class movement, imperialism tramples democratic rights and freedoms and uses brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labor legislation; Let us step up the offense against imperialism and internal action. The actions against the working class spoken of are much the same as the issues which the Alliance To End Repression has undertaken in its support of its Communist Party influence.

The Alliance To End Repression has long been the author and distributor of anti-police and anti-criminal justice system type literature. Exhibit #19 accuses the police of a multitude of crimes and misconduct against the black community. which could spread to the whole community. The Alliance attacks the "unprecedented report of the Grand Jury, recommending more police spying, more investigations of communistic ideas', more rapid sentencing of 'subversive elements', is an invitation to go back to the McCarthy era."

To further emphasize the Alliance's suport of Communist Party causes exhibit 20 shows numerous members (Richard Criley, John Hill, Hiroshi Kanno and John Kearney) being sponsors along with identified Communist Party members of an organization which concerns itself with a suit by the Socialist Workers Party, which itself has been identified as a Communist organization.

On May 13, 1971, the Alliance To End Repression held a meeting of its surveillance task force. The aims and goals of this task force were to be directed to the gathering of information on the Red Squad (Intelligence Division of the

Chicago Police Department). The objective was: To obtain all information possible in regard to the identity of individual agents and their respective accountability in the chain of command of the Chicago Police Department; determine the locations of Red Squad 'fronts', or, specifically, administrative and operational control centers of overt and covert units of the Subversive Section of the Intelligence Division, and the ultimate goal of the task force being to control and limit the operations of the Red Squad until the eventual elimination of the unit.

On November 13, 1974, the Alliance To End Repression filed a law suit against the Intelligence Division of the Chicago Police Department in Federal Court.

The latest activity in support of the Alliance's anti-Intelligence Division endeavor was support and participation in a, "Rally and March, End Police Spying and Police Harassment! Abolish the Red Squad." Other sponsors of the rally included Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance and the Communist Party USA. (exhibit #21)

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Exhibit No. 1

**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN**
(Founded 1933)
799 BROADWAY, SUITE 233, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • ORegon 4-5058

April 12, 1973

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John M. Weatherwax
Prof Burton D. Wechsler
Mrs. Mary Hoys Weik
Frank Wilkinson
Henry Willcox
Prof. H H Wilson
Henry Wilton
A. I. Wirin, Esq

Dear Friend,

In dragnet operations reminiscent of the 1920 Palmer raids, Immigration officials are arresting -- on the street, outside a theater, on a subway, anywhere -- dark-skinned persons who look Latin American. Sound impossible? The enclosed article gives specific details.

U.S. citizens and residents are being caught up in these raids. TIME magazine (2/19/73) describes the ordeal of Amando Muñoz, born in Harlingen, Texas, who was working in Florida. Because he had no identification with him, Immigration agents simply ordered him: "Get in the truck." Along with others he was flown from Miami to Yucatan in Mexico, 1,200 miles from Texas! After almost two months of hitchhiking, walking, and doing odd jobs to buy food, he reached the Texas border. His sister brought his baptismal certificate, and he was admitted to the U.S. Muñoz is suing the Immigration Service for $25,000.

These dragnet raids are unconstitutional, racist and a threat to the rights of all citizens. On the same basis, Immigration authorities could stop persons of any national background such as those who look Irish, Slavic or Italian! The foreign born are being used as a scapegoat for growing unemployment, soaring prices and other pressing social ills.

The American Committee sponsored a widely publicized press conference (January 12) and a protest demonstration (January 17) in New York City. We enclose a petition sponsored by leaders of trade unions and ethnic groups in New York City. We ask you to secure signatures and return the petition to us.

The time to fight is NOW! Won't you help?

Sincerely,

Paul Lehmann — Dr. Paul Lehmann, Chairman

Lee H. Ball — Rev. Lee H. Ball, Treasurer

Louise Pettibone Smith — Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Honorary Chairman

P.S. This year marks the 40th Anniversary of the American Committee's work in defense of the foreign born.

33 *Congress should enact a Statute of Limitations on deportations and denaturalizations*

Exhibit No. 2

Chicago Committee to DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

SUITE 803
431 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
939-0675

Nov. 30, 1970

Dear Friend:

Before you dismiss this letter as the 100th fund appeal you have received this month, please read on.

It is probably the first appeal you have received from an organization which is itself in need, in behalf of another group.

We are subordinating our own financial problems because we believe that the Alliance to End Repression is that important. In our judgment, the Alliance is the most significant development in the entire country in the area of civil liberties and civil rights.

The Alliance is a new and creative movement composed of a diversity of organizations, from the inner-city to suburbia. It has proved that it can deal concretely and effectively with issues -- local and national -- the resolution of which will determine the future of a meaningful Bill of Rights.

The Alliance has made unity of action its trade mark in a period beset with the frustrations of ideological, factional and racial divisiveness...a unity symbolized by its officers who include a distinguished Catholic priest, a nationally-know Unitarian minister and a militant leader of the Black Coalition.

The Alliance's serious financial crisis, which could threaten its life, is the by-product of its very success -- its remarkable growth and expansion of activity -- which outran the creation of an adequate financial base.

As one of the organizations which helped to create the Alliance, we believe that its tremendous promise must not be jeopardized by a critical -- if temporary -- lack of operating funds.

We enclose an invitation to a reception for Jane Fonda, part of the proceeds of which will be donated to the Alliance. We hope you can attend. But if you cannot, could you mail us a check made out to the Alliance to End Repression? If you can do this as a down-payment on a monthly pledge for a limited period of time, it would be most helpful. But in any case any contribution you can make is urgently needed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Havighurst
Co-Chairman

Richard L. Criley
Exec. Director

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RABBI S. BURTON TAMPOL
DR. QUENTIN D. YOUNG

Exhibit No. 3

"The biggest threat
to the orderly conduct of business...
is people—the wrong kind of people...
We would like assurance that
there is a...mechanism for
detention of known security risks—
whether Communists or whatever..."

*—Testimony before HUAC/HISC, April 21, 1970, by GENERAL ELECTRIC & HUGHES AIRCRAFT executives, on behalf of Electronic Industries Association, In favor of retaining the Concentration Camp Law*

"Then they came for me,
and by that time
no one was left
to speak up."

*—Pastor Martin Niemoeller, describing rise of NAZI Germany*

*"We are, indeed, in a crisis. We have had many crises in prior years, but none within the memory of living Americans which compares with this one."*

---

FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN
May 15, 1970

*"The search of the youth today is for ways and means to make the machine — and the vast bureaucracy of the corporation state and of government that runs that machine — the servant of man.*

*"That is the revolution that is coming.*

*"That revolution — now that the people hold the residual powers of government — need not be a repetition of 1776. It could be a revolution in the nature of an explosive political regeneration. It depends on how wise the Establishment is. If, with its stockpile of arms, it resolves to suppress the dissenters, America will face, I fear, an awful ordeal."*

---

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Concluding statement of his book, POINTS OF REBELLION, cited by Congressional opponents seeking his impeachment.

*The extension of the war to Cambodia, the deaths of students and others protesting at Jackson, Kent, Augusta, Chicago and Los Angeles, the benign retreat from the decisions of the Supreme Court for racial justice, the failure to cope with inflation & mounting unemployment, — have created a division in our society unequalled in the past hundred years.*

*The repressive "law and order" response by the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell Administration and an apparent majority of the Congress has been described by eminent historians as portending the dissolution of the Republic.* We might be the first people to go fascist by the democratic vote.***

*As a positive reaction to these events, an increasing number of people — especially the youth — are rediscovering electoral politics.*

*We have been steadfast in our belief that an informed people pressing their Congress could ultimately provide the redress of their grievances.*

*This literature is designed to provide you with the specific information which you need to act — in time to check the repressive schemes of the Executive and Legislative branches of our Government.*

---

*HENRY STEELE COMMAGER **WILLIAM L. SHIRER

*On the following pages we report these key Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace:*

A Congressmen voting against HISC's Defense Facilities & Industrial Security Act 1/29/70 (H.R. 14864)
B Congressmen introducing Resolution to repeal Concentration Camp Law to HISC; Judiciary*; both**
C Congressmen voting against D.C. Crime Law — Conference Report, 7/15/70 (H.R. 16196)
D Congressmen voting to recommit Resolution to establish HISC, 2/18/69 (H. Res. 89)
E Congressmen introducing Resolution to abolish HUAC, HISC*, or both**
F Congressmen voting against appropriations for HISC in 1969, 1970*, or both**
G Congressmen voting against Anti-Riot Law, 7/19/67 (90th Congress)
H Congressmen voting for the Cooper-Church Amendment to end the war in Vietnam — 7/9/70
I Congress voting against Administration (Ford) amendment to weaken Voting Rights Act of 1970, 12/11/6
All votes reported include "paired" votes. *Italic* — denotes Republican

# The Co entration Camp Law

*CRITICAL PROVISIONS —"The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution" for American civil liberties!*

"The President is authorized," without further approval by Congress, to determine an "event of . . . insurrection . . . " (not defined), and declare the existence of "an Internal Security Emergency."

Then, "acting through the Attorney General" and the FBI, "is authorized to apprehend and . . . detain . . . each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to BELIEVE . . . PROBABLY WILL engage in, or PROBABLY WILL conspire with others to engage in" certain *future* illegal acts. "Persons apprehended . . . shall be confined in . . . places of detention." Public Law 831 — 81st Congress (1950)

*Campaign to Repeal Concentration Camp Law:*

Led by members of the Japanese American Citizens League, a national repeal campaign has resulted in the following:

SENATE: 26 bills introduced; repeal voted unanimously 12/22/69.
HOUSE: 133 repeal bills referred to HISC: 23 to Judiciary.

*August 20, 1970:* HISC Chairman Ichord praises Law: "I am somewhat less than anxious to grant some of its . . . critics — such as the Communist Party — the satisfaction of having stripped our country of any . . . means of protecting itself."

*September 10, 1970:* Justice Department suggests repeal to "allay public fears."

*September 16, 1970.* HISC's Ichord and Ashbrook introduce H.R. 19163, aimed at circumventing the national campaign for repeal.

*Provisions:* (a) Perpetuates the law; (b) adds a racist amendment purporting to exclude its application "on account of race, color, or ancestry"; (c) offers meaningless due process for persons already in concentration camps; (d) updates old Cold War terminology to include persons charged with no unlawful act, but who are allegedly connected with a "movement" which has a "purpose" to achieve changes in the government assertedly by "force and violence"; (e) has Congress share responsibility with President in judging when an "insurrection" exists.

*Warning:* House debate and vote expected after Congress reconvenes following election recess — 11/16/70. JACL urges defeat of Ichord-Ashbrook bill and substitution of Senate repeal bill: S. 1872 — Senator Inouye et al.

## Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALASKA | Rep. Howard W. Pollock — At Large | | X | | | | | | | |
| ARIZONA | Rep. Morris K. Udall — 2nd | | X | | | | | X | X | X |
| ARKANSAS | Rep. Bill Alexander — 1st | | | | | | | | X | |
| CALIFORNIA | Rep. Glenn M. Anderson — 17th | | X** | | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep. Alphonzo Bell — 28th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. George E. Brown, Jr. — 29th | X | X** | X | X | X** | X | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Phillip Burton — 5th | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Jeffery Cohelan — 7th | X | X | X | X | | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. James C. Corman — 22nd | X | X | X | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep. Don Edwards — 9th | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Charles S. Gubser — 10th | | X | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Richard T. Hanna — 34th | | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins — 21st | X | X** | X | X | X** | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Chet Holifield — 19th | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X |
| | Rep. Harold T. Johnson — 2nd | X | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Robert L. Leggett — 4th | X | X** | X | X | | X* | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. — 11th | X | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. John J. McFall — 15th | X | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. George P. Miller — 8th | X | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. John L. Mills — 3rd | X | X** | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Thomas M. Rees — 26th | X | X** | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Edward R. Roybal — 30th | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. B. F. Sisk — 16th | | X | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Charles M. Teague — 13th | | X | | | | | | | |

# Defense Facilities & Industrial S[illegible]rity Act

*CRITICAL PROVISIONS — From the people who brought you HUAC!*

Everyone could be investigated: "The President may . . . authorize investigations concerning any person or organization . . ."

Scope of investigations is limitless: including "present or past membership in, or affiliation or association with, any organization, and such other . . . behavior . . . facts, and conditions . . ."

Everything is a "Defense Facility": including "any plant, factory, industry, public utility, mine, laboratory, educational institution (part of military project), research organization, railroad, airport, pier . . . canal, dam, bridge, highway," etc.

"Compulsory" testimony or jail for refusal to inform on neighbors

"Act of subversion" could encompass advocating peaceful, non-violent change of government by means of the ballot

Cross-examination of accusers may be denied for "security"

Renews probe of reading habits — beliefs of prospective seamen

Reply to political queries or lose job; affects right to strike

*HOUSE DEBATE:* "Rep. Fraser (Minn.). I offer an amendment . . . 'that nothing in this bill shall authorize an adverse finding . . . to . . . First Amendment rights . . .' The amendment was rejected."

*ACLU:* "Privacy will come to an end . . . for all . . . citizens, who may be investigated regarding anything or everything in their lives . . . 1984 will come, blessed by Congressional authorization."

*STATUS:* HOUSE: approved 289 to 81. SENATE: Pending in Judiciary.
Law professors — eminent scientists have initiated opposition petitions.

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CALIFORNIA (con't.) | Rep. John V. Tunney — 38th | | X** | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin — 37th | | X | | X | | X* | | X | X |
| | Rep. Jerome R. Waldie — 14th | X | X** | X | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep. Charles H. Wilson — 31st | | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| COLORADO | Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall — 4th | | | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Frank E. Evans — 3rd | | X | | X | | X* | | X | X |
| | Rep. Byron G. Rogers — 1st | | | | | | | | | X |
| CONNECTICUT | Rep. Emilio Q. Daddario — 1st | | | | X | | X | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Robert N. Giaimo — 3rd | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. John S. Monagan — 5th | | | | | | X* | | X | X |
| | Rep. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. — 4th | | | | | | | | X | |
| DELAWARE | Rep. William V. Roth, Jr. — At Large | | | | | | | | | X |
| FLORIDA | Rep. Charles E. Bennett — 3rd | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Dante B. Fascell — 12th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Sam Gibbons — 6th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Claude Pepper — 11th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| HAWAII | Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga — At Large | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| IDAHO | Rep. Patsy T. Mink — At Large | X | X** | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ILLINOIS | Rep. Orval Hansen — 2nd | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. John B. Anderson — 16th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Frank Annunzio — 7th | X | X | | X | X** | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. William L. Dawson — 1st | X | | X | X | | X | | X | |
| | Rep. Edward J. Derwinski — 4th | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Paul Findley — 20th | | | | | | | | | X |

# House Committee on Internal Security (HISC)

*CRITICAL ACTIVITES — the old HUAC is back:*

Total: $1,400,000 (1969-70); Staff: 48; Bills: FIVE out of 15,434

Blacklisting: provided Congress with 3,376 *libel free* "reports" on persons and organizations in 1969, based on uncross-examined raw data. 40 Federal agencies have unrestricted file access.

HEW "cautioned": against ending ban of blacklisted scientists

Academic freedom: 179 campuses queried on "radical speakers"

Peace: named 900 persons & groups in "study" on "Subversive Involvement in the New Mobilization to End War in Vietnam"

Black Panther Party & SDS: 30 "hearings" held to receive, then publish allegations from police informers & "friendly witnesses"

Mailed witch-hunt: letters sent "inviting" recipient "to affirm or deny," without cross-examination, anonymous political attacks

*LEGAL CHALLENGES:* HISC's predecessor (HUAC) ordered to stand trial (Stamler, Hall; & Cohen cases).

9/24/70 House votes 337 to 14 to cite Arnold Johnson for contempt of Congress. Johnson is HISC's first "unfriendly" witness since HUAC was laid to rest 2/18/69. Under advice of counsel, he refused to be sworn before HISC when subpoenaed in his capacity as Director of Public Relations & National Committee member of the Communist Party, and, one of the 100-person Steering Committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

National peace leaders plan political and legal actions to stop HISC from further attacks on peace movement, and to stop Attorney General Mitchell from proceeding with contempt prosecution of Johnson.

*STATUS:* 133 Congressmen voted to recommit Resolution swapping HUAC for HISC, 14 have introduced Resolutions to abolish HISC, and 52 voted to cut off its 1970 funds. By precedent — next chance to abolish HISC: January, 1971 — 92nd Congress opening.

## Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ILLINOIS (con't.) | Rep Kenneth J. Gray — 21st | | X | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep John C. Kluczynski — 5th | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | *Rep Robert McClory* — 12th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep Abner J. Mikva — 2nd | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep William T. Murphy — 3rd | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep Melvin Price — 24th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep Roman C. Pucinski — 11th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep Tom Railsback* — 19th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep Dan Rostenkowski — 8th | | | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep George L. Shipley — 23rd | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep Sidney R. Yates — 9th | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| INDIANA | Rep John Brademas — 3rd | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep David W. Dennis* — 10th | | | X | | | | | | |
| | Rep Lee H. Hamilton — 9th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep Andrew Jacobs, Jr. — 11th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep Ray J. Madden — 1st | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| IOWA | Rep John C. Culver — 2nd | X | X* | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | *Rep Fred Schwengel* — 1st | | | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep Neal Smith — 5th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| KENTUCKY | *Rep Tim Lee Carter* — 5th | | | X | | | | | | |
| | *Rep William O. Cowger* — 3rd | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep Carl D. Perkins — 7th | | | | | | | | | X |
| MAINE | Rep William D. Hathaway — 2nd | | | X | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep [illegible] — 1st | | X | | | | | | X | X |

# A Constitutional Analysis of HISC's Ma. ..ate

Excerpts from review by:

THOMAS I. EMERSON — Professor of Law, Yale University

The new mandate makes no substantitive changes in the jurisdiction or powers of the former Committee on Un-American Activities.

The new formulation of the Committee's jurisdiction is subject to the same constitutional objections as previously. It empowers the Committee to investigate areas where Congress is forbidden by the First Amendment to legislate.

The Committee's area of inquiry is not limited to the use of force or violence or other unlawful methods. It covers all forms of political activity, legal as well as illegal. Indeed, it is not limited to action at all. It includes all forms of speech, assembly, or other expression.

The mandate expressly provides that all the records of the Committee on Un-American Activities are transferred to the Committee on Internal Security. Thus the bureaucracy devoted to compiling dossiers on the opinions and association of millions of Americans will persist and continue to expand.

The Committee on the Judiciary can perform all functions necessary to assure the internal security of the United States.

HISC Chairman Ichord Agrees:

*ON HUAC: "Admittedly, this mandate is very vague and . . . this vagueness has given some credence to the charge that the Committee . . . has the power to investigate unorthodox political views and opinions . . . I do not believe it possible to accurately define the jurisdiction of the Committee on Un-American Activities . . ."*

*ON HISC: The purpose of the new HISC mandate is "to preserve the full jurisdiction and powers the Committee has possessed during its 29 years of existence . . . The Resolution does not change the jurisdiction of the Committee on Un-American Activities one iota."* — Congressional Record: 1/18/67; 2/18/69; press release

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MARYLAND | *Rep. J. Glenn Beall, Jr.* — 6th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. George H. Fallon — 4th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Samuel N. Friedel — 7th | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Edward A. Garmatz — 3rd | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Gilbert Gude* — 8th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Clarence D. Long — 2nd | | X | X | | | | | X | X |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Rep. Edward P. Boland — 2nd | X | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. James A. Burke — 11th | | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | *Rep. Silvio O. Conte* — 1st | | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Harold D. Donohue — 4th | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Michael Harrington — 6th | X | | X | | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Margaret M. Heckler* — 10th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Hastings Keith* — 12th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Torbert H. Macdonald — 7th | X | | | X | | X | | X | X |
| | *Rep. E. Ri. dford Morse* — 5th | X | | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. — 8th | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Philip J. Philbin — 3rd | | X | | | | | X | X | X |
| MICHIGAN | Rep. John Conyers, Jr. — 1st | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. — 13th | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. John D. Dingell — 16th | | X | X | X | X | X** | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Marvin L. Esch* — 2nd | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. William D. Ford — 15th | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Martha W. Griffiths — 17th | | X | | | | | | X | |
| | *Rep. James Harvey* — 8th | | | | | | | | | |

# Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB)

SUBVERSIVE FEATHERBED: SACB — 5-man "quasi-court" created by HUAC's Internal Security Act of 1950 [Mundt-*Nixon;* McCarran], to decide if any organization is "Communist-action; front; or infiltrated," and, if any person is a member of an "action" group.

Salary: $36,000 per year each. Includes: head of Veterans for Johnson in '64; husband of former Johnson secretary; Illinois lawyer-friend of late Senator Dirksen; & Nixon named ex-State Department hand fired for disclosing confidential files.

*EXERCISE IN FUTILITY & POLITICAL IMMORALITY:*

1950: Passed over Truman's veto, aftermath of Korean War.
1950-65: Spent $5 million; tally: ZERO; held unconstitutional.
1965-67: Did absolutely nothing.
1968: Vivified by HUAC, by circumventing Supreme Court.
1968-69: Assigned 22 new "action"-member cases. Utah case informer names NAACP; Kennedy-Fulbright Committee.
4/20/70: Again held unlawful — "contrary to 1st Amendment"
7/14/70: Attorney General Mitchell assigns 2 new "front" cases.

**Senators Against 1970-71 Funds**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bayh | Harris | Moss |
| Boggs | Hart | Muskie |
| Brooke | Hatfield | Nelson |
| Case | Hughes | Packwood |
| Church | Javits | Pell |
| Cranston | Jordan, Idaho | Proxmire |
| Dominick | Mathias | Ribicoff |
| Eagleton | McGee | Williams, Del. |
| Fulbright | McGovern | |
| Goodell | Mondale | |

*STATUS:* Congressman John Conyers (Mich.) drafting bill to repeal all aspects of HUAC's Internal Security Act, including SACB! 28 Senators vote to cut off funds for 1970-71 — even supporters concede possibility of abolition (8/24/70).

## Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MICHIGAN | Rep. Edward Hutchinson — 4th | | | | | | | | | X |
| (cont.) | Rep. Jack H. McDonald — 19th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi — 14th | | X | X | X | | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. James G. O'Hara — 12th | | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Donald W. Riegle, Jr. — 7th | | | X | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Philip E. Ruppe — 11th | | | | | | | | X | |
| MINNESOTA | Rep. John A. Blatnik — 8th | X | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Donald M. Fraser — 5th | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Joseph E. Karth — 4th | | | | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep. Clark MacGregor — 3rd | | | | | | | | | X |
| MISSOURI | Rep. Richard Bolling — 5th | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X |
| | Rep. Durward G. Hall — 10th | | | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. William (Bill) Clay — 1st | X | X | X | X | X* | X | | X | X |
| | Rep. William L. Hungate — 9th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. William J. Randall — 4th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan — 3rd | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. James W. Symington — 2nd | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| MONTANA | Rep. John Melcher — 2nd | | | X | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Arnold Olsen — 1st | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Rep. James C. Cleveland — 2nd | | | | | | | | | X |
| NEW JERSEY | Rep. Dominick V. Daniels — 14th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Florence P. Dwyer — 12th | | | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen — 5th | | | | X | | | | | X |
| | | | v | v | v | | | v | v | v |

# District of Columbia Crime Law

*CRITICAL PROVISIONS:*

Preventive detention: no bail — 60 days in jail for non-capital crime arrest; violates presumption of innocence rule.

Wiretapping: expands police eavesdropping from national security & organized crime to vast new range of suspected offenses.

No-knock: undermines 4th Amendment; court aproved exceptions made rule, based on policeman's "hunch" recommendation.

16 year olds handled as adults: if suspected of serious crimes.

Judicial discretion denied: in punishing 2nd serious offense.

"YOU TAP 'EM AND I'LL ZAP 'EM."

*STATUS:* House approved 343 to 75, 7/15/70. Senate approved 57 to 35, 7/23/70. Nixon signed into law, 7/29/70.

*WARNING:* "We want to make Washington, D.C., an example of respect for law . . . this legislation will help." — PRESIDENT NIXON "A model program for other cities . . ." — ATTY. GEN. MITCHELL

**Senators Voting Against Law**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Anderson | Fulbright | McCarthy |
| Bayh | Goodell | McGovern |
| Brooke | Gravel | Metcalf |
| Case | Harris | Mondale |
| Church | Hart | Muskie |
| Cook | Hughes | Nelson |
| Cooper | Jackson | Packwood |
| Cranston | Javits | Ribicoff |
| Eagleton | Jordan, N.C. | Stennis |
| Ervin | Kennedy | Williams, N.J. |
| Fong | Mathias | Yarborough |

PRESENT AND GIVING LIVE PAIRS, A PREVIOUSLY RECORDED

Inouye

Young of Ohio

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW JERSEY (con't.) | Rep. Henry Helstoski — 5th | X | X* | X | X | X** | X** | X | X |
| | Rep. James J. Howard — 3rd | | X | | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Joseph G. Minish — 11th | | X | | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Edward J. Patten — 15th | | X | | X | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Peter W. Rodino, Jr. — 10th | | X | | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Robert A. Roe — 8th | | | | | | | | X |
| | *Rep. Charles W. Sandman, Jr. — 2nd* | | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. — 4th | X | | X | X | | X** | X | X |
| | *Rep. William B. Widnall — 7th* | | | | | | | | X |
| NEW YORK | Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo — 7th | X | X | X | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Mario Biaggi — 24th | | X | | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham — 23rd | X | X | X | X | X** | X** | X | X |
| | Rep. Frank J. Brasco — 11th | X | | X | X | | X | | X |
| | *Rep. Daniel E. Button — 29th* | X | X | | X | | X** | X | X |
| | Rep. Hugh L. Carey — 15th | X | | X | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. Emanuel Celler — 10th | X | | X | X | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Shirley Chisholm — 12th | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | | X |
| | *Rep. Barber B. Conable, Jr. — 37th* | | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski — 41st | | X | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Leonard Farbstein — 19th | X | X** | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | *Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr. — 28th* | | X | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Jacob H. Gilbert — 22nd | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X |
| | *Rep. Seymour Halpern — 6th* | | X | | X | | | | X |
| | Rep. James M. Hanley — 35th | | X | | | | | | X |

# The Anti-Riot Law

*CRITICAL PROVISIONS:*

"Whoever travels in interstate ... commerce or uses ... the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio or television, with INTENT to ... encourage ... any person in ... participating in ... a riot ... shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both." Definition: *"The term 'riot' means ... an act ... of violence by one or more persons part of an assemblage of three ... which ... shall result in ... injury to the property of any other person ..."*

*PROSECUTIONS:*

4/11/68: Signed into law. No indictments by Atty. Gen. Clark
3/20/69: 8 Chicago Democratic Convention protesters indicted
5/9/69: ACLU joins constitutional challenge of Act
3/70: "Knoxville 21" indicted under similar Tennessee law
4/3/70: 12 additional Chicago indictments for 10/8-11/69 acts
4/16/70: 8 indicted in Seattle "anti-riot" verdict protests
5/31/70: 2 student ROTC protesters indicted in St. Louis

**Senators Against Act** *March 6, 1968*

Brooke
Case
Harris
Hart
Hatfield
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Metcalf
Mondale
Scott
Young, O

*HISTORY:* Senator Strom Thurmond (S.C.) added "anti-riot" rider to Civil Rights Act of 1968, after cloture voted to end Senate filibuster against fair housing provisions. There were no hearings. House, which had passed similar bill in 1967, acceded.

*STATUS:* Congressman John Conyers (Michigan) initiated effort to repeal Anti-Riot Act, introducing H.R. 11567 on 5/21/69.

## Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW YORK (cont'd) | *Rep. Frank Horton — 36th* | | X | | X | | X | | X | X |
| | Rep. Edward I. Koch — 17th | X | X•• | X | X | X•• | X•• | | X | X |
| | Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein — 5th | X | X | X | X | X• | X | | X | X |
| | Rep. Richard D. McCarthy — 39th | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Martin B. McKneally — 27th* | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. John M. Murphy — 16th | | | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Richard L. Ottinger — 25th | X | X• | X | X | X• | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Otis G. Pike — 1st | X | | | X | | | | | X |
| | *Rep. Alexander Pirnie — 32nd* | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Bertram L. Podell — 13th | X | X•• | X | X | X• | X | | X | X |
| | Rep. Adam C. Powell — 18th | X | | X | X | | X | | X | |
| | Rep. Ogden R. Reid — 26th | X | X | X | X | X•• | X•• | X | X | X |
| | *Rep. Howard W. Robison — 33rd* | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. John J. Rooney — 14th | X | | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal — 8th | X | X | X | X | X•• | X•• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. William F. Ryan — 20th | X | X | X | X | | X•• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. James H. Scheuer — 21st | X | X | X | X | X | X•• | X | X | X |
| | *Rep. Henry P. Smith III — 49th* | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Samuel S. Stratton — 35th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Lester L. Wolff — 3rd | X | X | | X | X | X• | | X | X |
| | Rep. John W. [illegible] — 40th | | | | X | | | | | |

# Organized Crime Control Law

*CRITICAL PROVISIONS — NOT LIMITED TO ORGANIZED CRIME:*

*25 year sentences:* for vague category of *"Special Dangerous Offenders,"* with "no limitation" on *"information"* to be used by court in imposing sentence, including: coerced confessions, hearsay, illegally obtained evidence, & withheld information. *Could apply to civil rights & peace activists.*

*Perjury charges:* eliminates 2-witness & proof of falsity rules.

*Protection from illegal search & seizure abridged:* limits present defendant rights to scrutinize illegal wiretrap evidence. 5-year old illegal evidence — would become admissible in court.

*Undermines 5th Amendment:* indeterminate to 18 mos. jail sentences — without jury trial — for failure to accept "immunity" against "use" of, rather than prosecution for, compelled testimony & documents. *Applies to political inquisitions by Congress, civil actions between private parties, etc.*

*Grand juries:* "misconduct" attacks allowed without indictments.

*STATUS:* Authored by Senator McClellan (Ark.). Approved by Senate 1/23/70: 73 to 1

10/7/70: Overwhelmingly approved by House — 341 to 26 — with amendments urged by Nixon to place added FBI agents on campus purportedly regarding bombing, — even if opposed by academic and other local authorities.

"Differences between the Senate & House versions . . . to be resolved in Conference . . . before Congress recesses" for November elections. *NEW YORK TIMES*

**"WHAT MANNER OF HERETIC HAS BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE US TODAY?"**

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | O | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OHIO | Rep. Thomas L. Ashley — 9th | X | X | | X | X | X•• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Michael A. Feighan — 20th | | | | | | | X | | X |
| | Rep. Wayne L. Hays — 18th | | | | X | | | | | |
| | Rep. Michael J. Kirwan — 19th | | | X | X | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Delbert L. Latta — 5th | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. William M. McCulloch — 4th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Clarence E. Miller — 10th | | | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Charles A. Mosher — 13th | X | | | X | | X• | | X | X |
| | Rep. J. William Stanton — 11th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Louis Stokes — 21st | X | | X | X | X | X•• | | X | X |
| | Rep. Robert Taft, Jr. — 1st | | X | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Charles A. Vanik — 22nd | X | | | X | | X• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Charles W. Whalen, Jr. — 3rd | X | | | X | | X•• | | X | X |
| OKLAHOMA | Rep. Carl Albert — 3rd | | | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Ed Edmondson — 2nd | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Tom S[illegible] — 4th | | X | | | | | | | |
| OREGON | Rep. John Dellenback — 4th | | | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Al Ullman — 2nd | | X | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Wendell Wyatt — 1st | X | | | | | | | X | |
| PENNSYLVANIA | Rep. William A. Barrett — 1st | X | | | X | | X• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Edwin D. Eshleman, Jr. — 8th | | | | | | | | X | X |

# Inquis' rial Committees of U.S. Senate

*Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS)*
*Chairman, Senator James O. Eastland (Mississippi)*

*Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee (SPIS)*
*Chairman, Senator John L. McClellan (Arkansas)*

TCLL: 91st Congress — SISS: $1,070,000; SPIS: $1,386,500.

SOUNDING-BOARDS FOR SLANDER: Both SISS & SPIS held scores of "hearings" and publicized tomes of "reports"— all at the taxpayers unhappy expense — under a formula aptly characterized by the *Washington Post:*

"Offer congressional immunity from suits for libel or slander to any malcontent or crackpot who may want a free forum for expressing his crochets or paying off old grudges . . . to punish people by publicity, without any semblance of due process and without affording them any chance to defend themselves."

PREY (1969-70): included such likely targets for opprobrium as:

SISS: Stokely Carmichael; Iona College, New Rochelle, N.Y.; Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations; the GI coffee house supporting United Serviceman's Fund; the Cuban cane cutting Venceremos Brigades; Viet Moratorium; Liberation News Service; Institute for Policy Studies; Brotherhood Crusade; etc.

SPIS: SCEF's Kentucky coal miner organizers, Margaret & Alan McSurely; Harvard President Nathan Pusey; Black Panther Party; SDS; *Black Politics* magazine; Stanford President Kenneth Pitzer; Republic of New Africa; etc.

Jail Threats for Contempt: although several institutions yielded to Committee subpoenas for names & documents, — legal challenges of such fishing expeditions were the rule, and some have been sustained. Most threatening is McClellan's vendetta against the McSurelys. Their refusal to turn over records illegally seized, then returned by Pike County, Ky. authorities, could lead to prison terms; their conviction is on appeal.

*STATUS:* Unlike HUAC and now HISC, no concerted political campaign has been made to control or abolish SISS or SPIS.

## Congressional Votes for Civil Liberties, Rights, and Peace

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PENNSYLVANIA (cont.) | Rep. John H. Dent — 21st | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Joshua Eilberg — 4th | X | | X | X | | X•• | | X | X |
| | Rep. Daniel J. Flood — 11th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. James G. Fulton — 27th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos — 20th | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. William J. Green — 5th | X | | X | X | | X• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Joseph M. McDade — 10th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. William S. Moorhead — 14th | | | X | X | | X• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Thomas E. Morgan — 26th | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Robert N. C. Nix — 2nd | X | X•• | X | X | X•• | X•• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Fred B. Rooney — 15th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. John P. Saylor — 22nd | | | | | | | | X | |
| | Rep. Herman T. Schneebeli — 17th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Joseph P. Vigorito — 24th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Gus Yatron — 6th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| RHODE ISLAND | Rep. Fernand J. St Germain — 1st | X | | | X | | X•• | | X | X |
| | Rep. Robert O. Tiernan — 2nd | X | | | X | | | | X | X |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | Rep. E. Y. Berry — 2nd | | | | X | | | | | |
| TENNESSEE | Rep. William R. Anderson — 6th | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Richard Fulton — 5th | | | | | | | | X | |
| TEXAS | Rep. Jack Brooks — 9th | | X | | X | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Eligio de la Garza — 15th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Bob Eckhardt — 8th | X | X | X | X | | X•• | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez — 20th | X | X•• | X | X | | | X | X | X |

## Other Repressive Legislative Proposals (partial listing)

Obstruction of Armed Forces Act (H.R. 959): HUAC's old "Joe Pool Bill":

(a) Provides penalties up to $10,000 and 5 years imprisonment, for: "Whoever . . . willfully . . . attempts to give . . . any money . . . or thing . . . for delivery to . . . any . . . group engaged in armed conflict with . . . the United States." *Could apply to humanitarian medical aid groups.*

(b) Provides penalties up to $10 000 and 5 years imprisonment, for: "Whoever . . . willfully . . . attempts to . . . impede . . . the free movement . . . of any member of the Armed Forces . . . or . . . passage of any facility of transportation being used . . . for . . . supplies . . . of such Armed Forces." *Could apply to protest pickets against shipments of napalm, etc.*

(c) Provides penalties up to $3,000 and 2 years imprisonment, for: "Whoever . . . maliciously breaks into any . . . room . . . used by . . . any recruitment . . . service . . . of military or civilian personnel for the Armed Forces . . . or . . . havings entered any such . . . room . . . mischievously remains and, after notice . . . to leave . . . fails immediately to depart." *Would apply to campus ROTC, etc. protests.*

STATUS: Reported out of HISC 9/9/70, over strong dissent by Congressman Stokes, and statement of "no compelling need" by Justice Department. Awaits Rules Committee o.k. for House debate & vote.

First Amendment Freedoms Act (S. 3976): authorizes Attorney General or private parties to request Federal court injunctions against possible "disruptive noise" (heckling) at public gatherings. Violators would be punished for contempt of court, imposed in some circumstances without jury trials.

Internal Security Act (S. 12 -- by Senator Eastland and 17 co-sponsors): "Designed to overrule or circumvent every liberal decision of the Supreme Court in the area of internal security over the last 15 years." — Professor Thomas I. Emerson.

Bail Reform Act (S. 2920): Includes preventive detention in noncapital cases for "dangerous persons." Similar to D.C. Crime Law, but for all Federal jurisdictions. Denies normal rules of evidence.

Drug Control Act (S. 3246; H.R. 18583): we oppose "no-knock" section.

STATUS: Approved by Senate 70 to 15. Approved by House Commerce Committee 14 to 9 on 8/14/70. Pending before House.

| STATE | CONGRESSMAN & DISTRICT | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TEXAS (con't.) | Rep. Abraham Kazen, Jr. — 23rd | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Wright Patman — 1st | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Graham Purcell — 13th | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Richard White — 16th | | | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. Jim Wright — 12th | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. John Young — 14th | | X | | | | | | | |
| VERMONT | *Rep. Robert T. Stafford — At Large* | | | | X | | | | X | X |
| WASHINGTON | Rep. Brock Adams — 7th | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Thomas S. Foley — 5th | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Julia Butler Hansen — 3rd | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Floyd V. Hicks — 6th | | X | | X | | | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Lloyd Meeds — 2nd | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X |
| | *Rep. Thomas M. Pelly — 1st* | | | | | | | | | X |
| WEST VIRGINIA | Rep. Ken Hechler — 4th | | X | | X | | X** | | X | X |
| | Rep. James Kee — 5th | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Robert H. Mollohan — 1st | | X | | | | | | | X |
| | Rep. John M. Slack — 3rd | | X | | | | | | | |
| | Rep. Harley O. Staggers — 2nd | | X | | | | | | | X |
| WISCONSIN | Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier — 2nd | X | X** | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. David R. Obey — 7th | | X | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski — 10th | | | | | | | | X | X |
| | Rep. Henry S. Reuss — 5th | X | X | X | X | X | X** | X | X | X |
| | Rep. Clement J. Zablocki — 4th | | X | | | | | | | X |

# What you can do...

## to influence this Congress:

- As an individual — ask your Congressman & Senators to oppose each of the pending repressive bills, introduce legislation to repeal all repressive laws, and work to abolish the inquisitorial committees
- Ask your organization — to take immediate steps to join with other concerned groups in your community to form an ALLIANCE AGAINST REPRESSION — to unite the work against racism, war and repression
- Contribute to our work against repressive legislation

NOTE: Congress reconvenes at noon on Monday, November 16, 1970, following election recess.

60-030 O - 75 - 9

## to secure a responsible Congress:

- As an individual — urge your candidates for Congress & the Senate to commit themselves — NOW — to oppose all pending repressive bills, to repeal all repressive laws, and to work to abolish the inquisitorial committees — as a CONDITION for receiving your vote on November 3rd
- Ask your organization — to bring all candidates before them to demand their commitment to oppose racism, war and repression, as a CONDITION for receiving further electoral support

## In the name of sanity, make your moves — NOW!

*This literature has been prepared as an education-action service by:*

# NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

*formerly* National Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC (*House Committee on Internal Security*)

*For further information contact our nearest office.*


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Aubrey W. Williams

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James Imbrie

Chairman
Harvey O'Connor

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Prof. Vern Countryman, *New England Region*
Philip J. Hirschkop, Esq., *East Coast Region*
Rev. C. T. Vivian, *Midwest Region*
Anne & Carl Braden
John Lewis, *Southern Region*
Rev. Edward L. Peet, *West Coast Region*

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Frank Wilkinson


*In Pursuit of First Amendment Principle To Abolish Inquisitorial Committees & Oppose Repressive Laws*

EXHIBIT No. 4

HANRAHAN: WHERE DOES HE REALLY STAND ON TERRORISM?

The failure of the State's Attorney's office to act in response to the illegal and dangerous activities of the Legion of Justice, a right wing group, while frequently victimizing people in the black. Latin and poor white communities, suggests a duplicity on the part of Hanrahan. Why is this so? What can be done?

SATURDAY NOV. 14, 8:00

Hull House, 3212 N. Broadway, Chicago, Donation 50¢

Ausp: Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks

SPEAKERS

Val Klink, Attorney, Independent Voters of Illinois
Norman Roth, Legion victim
Rev. John Hill, Chmn., Alliance Against Repression
Bruce Scheff, Comm. for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks
Sylvia Kushner, Co-Chmn., Peace Council

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[From Social Questions Bulletin, October 1972]

EXHIBIT No. 5

SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN

$3.00 per year 25¢ per copy

Issued Monthly, October Through May, and one summer issue

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

An unofficial fellowship founded in 1907

President, Rev. John Paul Menzel, Jr.
Vice Presidents, Rev. Frederick E. Ball, Rev. Martin Deppe, Rev. Clarance T. R. Nelson, Rev. Edward L. Peet
Treasurer, Mr. Robert F. Beach

Executive Secretary and Editor "Social Questions Bulletin"

Rev. Lee H. Ball, 11 Forest Blvd., Ardsley, N.Y. 10502

* * * * * * *

Rev. William Baird, Executive Director of the Northern California Committee Against Repressive Legislation, and pastor of the Humanist Church in Oakland, told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance to End Repression; it took 27 years to get it together. Our MFSA vice president Martin Deppe was involved in this project. Chicago is the only place in the U.S. where there is such an alliance. "I was headlined in the Chicago Tribune as the Red Minister of Chicago." Feeling that the threat of a police state in the U.S. was very great, the Alliance helped to get 50 anti-Daley delegates elected to the Democratic Convention. "A Roman Catholic priest is chairman of the Alliance, a nun is secretary. We won't do anything unless we work with the Gus Halls. There was a discussion between Karl Barth and six selected U.S. Communist leaders. Barth said, 'I am a Christian Marxist'. The Communists replied, 'You are our brother.' What is your concern? Angela Davis? The Blacks? Housing? I took six months off from my job to work on the Angela Davis case. I tried to get into the churches with the film about Angela, 'Portrait of a Revolutionary'. Most of you weren't with her," Baird said to the Federation members. "As far as you would go was to say she should get a fair trial. But she, to you, had leprosy. She is a Communist."

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EXHIBIT No. 6

[From Chicago Daily News, Jan. 19, 1962]

LONG ACCUSED AS RED

EYED BY ANTI-COMMIES AND U.S.; FORMED UNIT HERE

(By Dean Gysel)

On Nov. 23, 1960, a newsletter was sent out stating that neighborhood branches of the Chicago Fair Play for Cuba Committee were being formed.

Anyone interested in joining was asked to contact Dick and Florence Criley of 709 S. Spaulding.

Among those interested—not interested in joining but in observing—were the federal government and some private so-called "right-wing" anti-Commie societies.

It was not merely the purpose of the "Fair Play" organization that attracted them; it was the name—Dick Criley.

Next to John Rossen, chairman and founder of the pro-Fidel Castro propaganda group, Richard Criley draws the most attention from federal investigators and private Red-hunters.

Rossen has admitted to students that he formerly was a Communist.

Criley has been accused of being a Communist for 25 years. He won't admit or deny any Communist ties.

Pipe-smoking, gray-haired and craggy-faced Criley leads the West Side division of the Chicago Fair Play Committee. His wife, Florence, helped him form the branch.

Both joined with John Rossen in founding the Chicago chapter in June of 1960.

Last November, Criley disbanded the "branch" and reformed the members into a "committee."

He explained the "branch" was merely becoming more autonomous than other neighborhood divisions.

Criley said he joined the Fair Play movement after vacationing in Cuba early in 1960.

"I was impressed with what I saw . . . improvements in living conditions," Criley said.

"Maybe you're a Communist if you see good in Cuba," he said. "But I get impatient with this sort of arrangement. It's a sad return of McCarthyism."

Criley said press reports about Castro being a Communist contained "some slight contradiction."

"He (Castro) gave weight to Marx and Lenin," Criley said, "but I don't equate that with being a Communist Party member. He (Castro) just said he was influenced by their (Marx and Lenin) writings."

Others in the committee say Criley is not as active in the group as he once was. He is no longer on the executive council that governs the chapter.

Nevertheless, the government and other observers watch him closely.

Why? His past.

Criley is secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, at 189 W. Madison.

The House Un-American Activities subcommittee has charged that Criley's organization seeks to abolish the subcommittee.

Last Oct. 3, he pleaded the Fifth Amendment in Washington when asked if he was a Communist.

The House was probing reputed Communist front organizations, among them Criley's Bill of Rights committee.

On Oct. 9, 1960, Criley was accused by the House subcommittee of being a Communist and an official of the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee.

On the morning of May 5, 1959, Carl Nelson, an admitted former Communist and Chicago packinghouse worker, said Criley was a "member of the section committee of the Communist Party of the packinghouse industry."

Nelson testified in Chicago at House subcommittee hearings into Communist activities in vital industries.

At 2 p.m. that same day, Criley appeared before the subcommittee.

After identifying himself, he was asked his occupation by Richard Arens, the subcommittee's counsel.

Criley conferred with his lawyer, Irving G. Steinberg, then replied:

"My ancestor, Childs Corey, died in Salem, Mass., in the year 1692, a victim of the Salem witch-hunt.

"Mr. Arens, I think you can understand if my family has a long aversion to witch-hunts of any kind. Also if it is an article of faith in my family to believe in the Bill of Rights. I cannot in conscience encourage a further erosion of the Bill of Rights by answering your question."

(During Criley's last appearance before the House subcommittee last Oct. 9, he named his ancestor as "Giles Corey" who was burned at the stake during a witch hunt.).

(However, history records that Corey was not burned, but pressed to death by stones. Corey was accused of being a wizard, at the age of 81.)

Criley, a former packinghouse worker, first met congressional investigators July 6, 1954, in Washington during hearings into reported Communist activities in the Army.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee was probing Communist indoctrination of the Army's Information and Education Division, a branch that explained to soldiers why they were fighting.

Criley, a captain in the division, testified that he was not a Communist during his military career—1942–45—but refused to say whether he was a Red before or after.

Criley also was charged with being a Communist on Sept. 3, 1952, by Lee Lundgren, an admitted ex-Communist and union leader, during a House subcommittee investigation of Chicago industries.

The charges of Communist activities resulted in Criley's expulsion from Swift Local 28 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America on Oct. 9, 1946.

He was district education director of the CIO Packinghouse Workers here. Technically, he was expelled for violating the union's constitution.

Criley was graduated from the University of California in 1936.

In 1935, he was an organizer for the Young Communist League of California and became its president in 1940, according to public records.

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EXHIBIT No. 7

[From a hearing of the House Subcommittee on Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies, 1970]

PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS ON CAMPUSES, SCHOOL YEAR 1968–69

SCHOOL, SPEAKER, AND DATE

Notre Dame University, South Bend, Ind.; Michael Zagarell; September 15, 1968.
Valley State College, Northridge, Calif.; Charlene Mitchell; September 19, 1968.
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Charlene Mitchell; September 25, 1968.
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa.; Charlene Mitchell; September 26, 1968.
Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.; Michael Zagarell; September 26, 1968.
Standard Evening High School,* Philadelphia, Pa.; Michael Zagarell; September 26, 1968.
University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago, Ill.; Charlene Mitchell; October 3, 1968.
University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago, Ill.; Louis Diskin; October 3, 1968.
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; Charlene Mitchell; October 4, 1968.
Mundelein College, Chicago, Ill.; Charlene Mitchell; October 7, 1968.
University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.; Charlene Mitchell; October 8, 1968.
Bloomfield College, Bloomfield, N.J.; Michael Zagarell; October 10, 1968.
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Charlene Mitchell; October 14, 1968.
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.; Charlene Mitchell; October 15, 1968.
Northeastern University, Boston, Mass.; Michael Zagarell; October 15, 1968.
Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.; Michael Zagarell; October 15, 1968.
Colby College, Waterville, Maine; Michael Zagarell; October 16, 1968.
University of Maine, Orono, Maine; Michael Zagarell; October 16, 1968.
University of Maine at Portland, Portland, Maine; Michael Zagarell; October 16, 1968.
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.; Charlene Mitchell; October 16, 1968.
Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; Herbert Aptheker; October 16, 1968.
Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville, Mo.; Herbert Aptheker; October 17, 1968.
University of Wisconsin, Memorial Union, Madison, Wis.; Charlene Mitchell; October 17, 1968.
City College of New York, New York, N.Y.; Charlene Mitchell; October 18, 1968.
Brown University, Providence, R.I.; Michael Zagarell; October 18, 1968.

*High school.

University of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I.; Michael Zagarell; October 18, 1968.
University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; Charlene Mitchell; October 23, 1968.
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Charlene Mitchell; October 24, 1968.
San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.; Charlene Mitchell; October 28, 1968.
Merritt College, Oakland, Calif.; Charlene Mitchell; October 28, 1968.
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Michael Zagarell, October 28, 1968.
Temple Buell College, Denver, Colo.; Michael Zagarell; October 29, 1968.
Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.; Charlene Mitchell; October 29, 1968.
California State College, Hayward, Calif.; Charlene Mitchell; October 30, 1968.
Lowell State College, Lowell. Mass.; Charlene Mitchell; October 31, 1968.
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Charlene Mitchell; October 31, 1968.
Boston State College, Boston, Mass.; Charlene Mitchell; November 1, 1968.
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Charlene Mitchell; November 2, 1968.
Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Charlene Mitchell; November 4, 1968.
Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; Michael Eisenscher; November 12, 1968.
University of Delaware, Newark, Del.; Herbert Aptheker; December 12, 1968.
St. Norbert's College, De Pere, Wis.; Herbert Aptheker; January 9, 1969.
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.; Herbert Aptheker; February 5, 1969.
California Lutheran College, Thousand Oaks, Calif.; Herbert Aptheker; February 6, 1969.
New York University, New York, N.Y.; Michael Myerson; February 13, 1969.
University of Maine, Orono, Maine; Charlene Mitchell; February 18, 1969.
Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.; Herbert Aptheker; March 3, 1969.
University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.; Charlene Mitchell, March 6, 1969.
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Claude Lightfoot; March 11, 1969.
Littleton High School,* Littleton, Colo.; Robert Trujillo; March 14, 1969.
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Herbert Aptheker; April 8, 1969.
Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho; Herbert Aptheker; April 10, 1969.
Bradley University, Peoria, Ill.; Richard Criley; April 14, 1969.
Elmhurst College, Elmhurt, Ill.; Herbert Aptheker; April 15, 1969.
Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va.; Herbert Aptheker; April 18, 1969.
University of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I.; Herbert Aptheker; May 13, 1969.
Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio; Charlene Mitchell; May 17, 1969.
Federal City College, Washington, D.C.; Claude Lightfoot; May 25, 1969.
Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.; Arnold Johnson; May 25, 1969.
Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin; Claude Lightfoot; June 27, 1969.

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EXHIBIT No. 8

THE ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

From: John Hill, Executive Coordinator.
To: Council delegates and others.
Subject: September 1972 progress report.

October Council Meeting Will Be Postponed One Week to Tuesday, October 17 at 7:30 PM, Alliance Headquarters—22 East Van Burean

AGENDA WILL INCLUDE ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND STEERING COMM.

Report of Nominating Committee, Joan Hoffman, Chairperson (Note: Additional nominations may be made from the floor.)

NOMINATIONS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

*Chairman*: Rev. Jack Mendelsohn (First Unitarian Church of Chicago)
*Vice-Chairman*: Rev. Robert Muller (Westside Christian Parish) and Barbara England (Wellington Ave. Congregational Church)
*Secretary:* Milton Cohen (Civil Liberties Commission, IVI)
*Treasurer*: Dr. Herbert Hazelkorn (10th Cong. Dist. Politics for Peace)

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*High school.

*Steering Committee*: Mary Powers (Winnetka Human Rel. Comm.); Vance Archer (Hanrahan Task Force); Richard Criley (Chicago Comm. to Defend the Bill of Rights); Fred Glick (American Jewish Congress); Elyne Handler (Ethical Humanist Society); Walter Herrs (Chicago Commons Assoc.); David Meade (West Suburban); Bobbetee Zacharias (Winnetka Human Rel. Comm.); William Shapiro (Wilmette Human Rel. Comm.); Val R. Klink (Civil Liberties Comm., IVI); Julie Jacoby (Prisons TF); Doris Hicks (Cook County Sp. Bail Project); Robert Camacho (Citizens Alert); Frank Quinn (Hyde Park Peace Council); Rev. Francis McGrath (Assoc. of Chicago Priests); Edward Schwartz (Nat'l Lawyers Guild); Joe Kestnbaum (Citizens Alert); Charles Gray (Lawndale Peoples Planning & Action Conf.); Pat Dodson (Citizens Alert); Roland Sibrie (Sacred Heart Church); Helen Mum (Women's Int'l. League for Peace & Freedom); Betty Gallery (Winnetka Human Rel. Comm.); Harold Quigley (Ethical Humanist Society).

### LEAA REPORT CONFIRMS DISCRIMINATION IN CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

Recent major report of the Justice Dept.'s *Law Enforcement Assistance Administration* confirms with detailed statistics the past charges made by the Afro-American Patrolmen's League and the ALLIANCE. While the proportion of sworn Black police personnel is less than half the percentage of Blacks in the general population, the disproportion increases according to rank. Proportion of Blacks according to Civil Service rank follows: (note—40% of Chicago residents are Black) Patrolmen, 18%; Sergeants, 10%; Lieutenants, 4%; and Captains, 1%.

*The disproportion of persons of Latin-American descent is even greater.* Discrimination is getting worse, not better. Only 10% of those accepted from the current eligibility list were Black. In disciplinary actions taken, Dept. initiated complaints against Blacks were proportionately double those against white officers.

### CHICAGO CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION A ROADBLOCK TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

The LEAA Report showed that elimination of Black and Latin-American aspirants for promotion and job applicants occurs primarily at the level of the Civil Service administered examinations. The report found that there was no demonstrable relationship between police performance and the tests given for patrolmen. Other reforms in addition to elimination or major changes in patrolmen's tests include independent monitoring of all tests, immediate report back with duplicates of graded papers and other measures to minimize the possibility of a "fix" based on political clout. Implementation of LEAA recommendations to Civil Service Commission, Chicago Police Board and other agencies will be priorities for Citizens Alert & the Alliance.

### OPENING ILLINOIS PRISONS TO PUBLIC SCRUTINY

Jack Mendelsohn, John Hill and Julie Jacoby of the prisons task force met with Robert Howard, Illinois Dept. of Corrections to set up the agenda for a larger group meeting with Peter Bensinger, Ill. Director of the Dept. Chief item for discussion will be the ALLIANCE initiated proposal for a citizen committee with access to state prisons. Twenty-eight organizations have written Mr. Bensinger urging adoption of this proposal. Has your organization acted yet? Please send your letter to the Alliance for presentation in person to Mr. Bensinger.

### OVERHAUL OF PROBATION SYSTEM URGED AT COUNTY BOARD

The Alliance's Illinois Prisons and Jails Project appeared before an August meeting of the Cook County Bd. of Commissioners to urge a massive reform of the county's probation services, which are among the most inadequate in the country. Board President George Dunne recommended that a special budgetary hearing he held and wrote the TF's Julie Jacoby that this would be the appropriate place for detailed recommendations to be made. The most effective immediate "prison reform" is to keep more people out of them. Here are some budget facts on why the county and city justice systems don't work very well:

Chicago Police Dept. budget, $221 million.
Local jail & prison budget, $12 million.
Chicago patrolman's pay, $13,000 per year.
Probation office budget, $1.2 million.

Public defender budget, $1.3 million.
Public defender attorney, $10,300 per year.

LATEST TRIBUNE POLL SHOWS HANRAHAN SLIGHT LEAD OVER CAREY

While the trial of Edward V. Hanrahan et al. for conspiring to obstruct justice in the fatal raid on the Black Panther apartment continues, polls show Hanrahan still has a small lead over Republican-independent challenger Bernard Carey for election to post of Cook County State's Attorney. The Alliance's special task force is showing a 25-minute documentary film on the raid and its aftermath to any and all interested organizations. Recent showings include the Ethical Humanist Society, the Friendship Club and student groups at Chicago State University. How about a showing to your next meeting? (For booking, call 939–675)

NATIONAL LEGISLATION: HISC DEFEATED IN HOUSE; "BUSING" BEFORE SENATE

In a frantic effort to blackout news from independent sources visiting North Vietnam which expose U.S. bombings of dikes and civilians, the House Internal Security Committee attempted to rush through a modified peacetime treason statute imposing penalties of 10 years and $10,000 for "unauthorized" visits to Hanoi. The HISC bill, HR 16742, was approved on 9/25/72 after 45 minutes of hearings which heard no opposing witness, for which Congressman Drinan, though a committee member, was not notified. The bill was rushed to the House floor under a suspension of rules for action on Oct. 2, a day on which few Congressmen were expected to be in Washington, Emergency calls across the country were made by the National Committee Against Repressive Legis. and the ACLU. Because of the suspension of rules, a 2/3 vote of approval was required. This failed by some 17 votes, 230 for, 140 against. Illinois congressmen voting NO were Anderson, Annunzio, Findley, Gray, Mikva, Murphy, Price, Rostenkowski, Yates; Metcalfe and Collins were paired against. HR 16742 may reach the House floor through regular channels late in the session . . . . The so-called Equal Educational Opportunities Act (HR 13915) is expected on Senate floor 10/6/7. Opponents of this segregationist piece of legislative bigotry may filibuster. Nixon strongly supports passage.

ALLIANCE FINANCES REMAIN CRITICAL

John Hill and Betty Plank are still owed several thousand in back salaries and face possible payless pay-days again. Are you a monthly sustainer for the Alliance and/or do you know someone who might become one? The ALLIANCE will sponsor another supper on November 17th at Chicago Theological Seminary, with Afro-American Patrolmen's League president Renault Robinson as the featured speaker. Tickets are a $5.00 donation, and will be available shortly and at the Council meeting.

*Reminder:* Has your organization distributed the ALLIANCE's report on Cairo, Ill.? Have you or your organization written Governor Ogilvie and Dan Walker?

*Chairman:* Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, First Unitarian Church of Chicago

*Vice-Chairman:* Joan Hoffman, 57th Street Meeting of Friends, Rev. Robert Mueller, West Side Christian Parish

*Secretary:* Mary Powers, Winnetka Human Relations Committee

*Treasurer:* Norman Boyden, National Association of Social Workers, Chicago Chapter

*Executive coordinator:* John J. Hill

*Associate coordinator:* Betty Plank.

*Steering committee:* Vance O. Archer III, Cook County special bail project; Rev. David Chevrier, Wellington Avenue Congregational Church; Milton Cohen, Civil Liberties Committee of the Independent Voters of Illinois; Richard Criley, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Rev. Thomas Cross, United Methodist Board of Social Concerns; Rev. Martin Deppe, United Methodist Board of Social Concerns; Maude E. DeVictor, St. Columbonus Catholic Church; Fred E. Glick, Alliance Police Community Problems Task Force; Elyne Handler, Ethical Minority Society of Chicago; Ross Harano, Japanese American Citizens League; Herbert N. Hazelkorn, 15th District Politics for Peace; Walter Herrs, Coroner's Inquest Task Force; Jon Kelley, East Garfield Park Joint Planning Committee; Val R. Klink, Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent Voters of Illinois;

Sylvia Kushner, Chicago Peace Council; Judi Mcarole, Cook County Special Bail Project; David Meade, Editor, Alliance Open Letter; Richard Menges, Oak Park-River Forest Citizens Committee for Human Rights; Rev. Patrick O'Malley, St. James Catholic Church; Harold Quigley, Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago; William Shapiro, Wilmette Human Relations Committee; Edna Williams, United Front of Cairo; Bobbette Zacharias, Winnetka Human Relations Committee.

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EXHIBIT No. 9

DECEMBER 1974 PROGRESS REPORT TO DELEGATES AND OTHERS (ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION)

COUNCIL MEETING AGENDA, DECEMBER 10, 1974

1. Steering Committee Members Election for Coming year
2. Evaluation of James Rochford's first year as Chicago's Police Superintendent

*Nominating Committee's Slate for Steering Committee*

For Re-Election of Members:
- Randy Arcenas—Cook County Special Bail Project
- Milt Cohen—National Association of Social Workers—Chicago Chapter
- Dick Criley—Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights
- Peggy Deppe—First United Methodist Church of Evanston
- Alex DeVolpi—Concerned Argonne Scientists
- Herb Hazelkorn—Tenth Congressional District Politics for Peace
- Hans Lagoni—Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ
- Joyce Marco—Third Unitarian Church of Chicago
- Frank McGrath—Association of Chicago Priests
- Jack Mendelsohn—First Unitarian Church of Chicago
- Dick Menges—Alliance Public Relations
- Helen Mumm—Alliance Finance Committee
- Adele Noren—United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns
- Mary Powers—Winnetka Human Relations Committee
- Frank Quinn—Hyde Park Peace Council
- Rev. Roland Sibrie—Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church
- Rev. George Sikes—South Suburban Human Relations Federation
- Bobette Zacharias—Citizens Committee on the Media

New Members:
- Phil Brail—K A M Isaiah Israel Congregation—Social Action Committee
- Sr. Eileen Burke—Adrian Dominican Sisters
- Sr. Joann Crowley—Sisters of Charity, BVM, Social Response Commission
- L'Mordy Giles—Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO)
- Rick Gutman—Citizens Alert
- Jeanette Musengo—Chicago Connections
- Santos Perez—Archdiocesan Latin American Committee
- Lawrence Phillips—Afro-American Family and Community Service
- Cedric Russell—The Woodlawn Organization (TWO)
- Ruby Wilford—Community of United People

Officers Slate from the above members proposed:
- Chairperson—Jack Mendelsohn
- Vice-Chairpersons—Frank McGrath, Cedrick Russell, Santos Perez, Mary Powers
- Secretary—Alex DeVolpi
- Treasurer—Helen Mumm

RED SQUAD

The Police Department, according to several news stories in late November, plans to phase out its Red Squad functions. While the Department's full intention is yet unclear, it is clear that the Red Squad Law Suit brought by ACLU and the Alliance to End Repression in behalf of several individuals and social activist groups, has caused the Police Department to think about its political surveillance methods.

The suit, a class action, accuses the Police Department of several illegal activities including burglary and unauthorized wiretapping. It asks the court to order the Police Department to cease its illegal surveillance methods and to destroy the dossiers obtained through these methods.

Those who participate in demonstrations should observe whether or not the Red Squad is still carrying on its usual activities. Let the Alliance know about that or about any other matters which might pertain to the suit.

BAIL VOLUNTEERS

With the holiday season near, the Cook County Special Bail Project is in need of volunteers to staff the bail courts. If you can help out on any weekend or during the holidays themselves, call Betty Schulte or Karen Cassius to sign up.

In January, the CCSBP will begin to work week days in the Felony Preliminary-Hearing Court at 26th and California. If you can volunteer for even a brief time (e.g. once a week for a month), please call Noma Richardson, co-ordinator of the week-day program.

BAIL SYSTEM UNDER ATTACK

As the daily press reports—the "bail system" is under fire. The figures that made headlines in the *Tribune* and *Sun Times* on Thursday were retracted on the back pages on Friday. Superintendent Rochford was unable to support his claim that 40,000 rapists, robbers, thieves, etc. are rearrested while out on bond, because it is not true. However, this erroneous sensationalism increases fear of bail and promotes the position that "they should all be locked-up" even while presumed innocent.

STATE LEGISLATIVE TASK FORCE

The Alliance's State Legislative Task Force urges defeat of HB 2907 which has been intoduced in Springfield to make bail laws stiffer. The bill would enable judges to require a defendant, if he has committed a crime while free on a prior bond, to post 100% of the face value of his bond (instead of 10%). Judge already are required to consider a defendant's conviction record and they presently enjoy broad discretionary powers over bail. The proposed bill is therefore unnecessary. But it is also dangerous because it could lead to the return of the corrupt bail bondsman system which thrived when defendants were required to post 100% of the bond set for them.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The improvement won in the composition of the House of Representatives in the last election is evident in the changes now taking place in the House power-structure. Congressman Philip Burton, a strong civil liberties advocate, has been elected chairperson for the House Democratic Caucus. Congressman Ralph Metcalfe has been added to the House leadership committee which will now determine Democratic members' committee assignments, previously controlled by the Ways and Means Committee, dominated by Wilbur Mills, who faces ouster as Committee chairman.

The Democratic Caucus is considering a resolution to eliminate the House Internal Security Committee. This may lead to action on the opening day of the new Congress. Whether the action is taken then or later in the session, it now appears likely that the 94th Congress will end the 30-year life of HUAC/HISC. Letters to Illinois Congressmen urging the elimination of HISC are now very much in order. The House Judiciary Committee in the 94th Congress, which will play a key role in drafting the new criminal code, will have a stronger civil liberties character than in any recent Congress. Abner Mikva will probably be reassigned to the Judiciary Committee, giving Illinois at least one Democrat along with its two Republicans, McClory and Railsback.

CITIZENS ALERT

At a November 29 conference, Citizens Alert decided to make its overall 1975 goal the building of a network reaching into the city's 21 police districts. Specific issues for 1975: rape, Police Board expansion, police-caused deaths, crime and police problems at the community level, the police budget, hiring discrimination, and the Red Squad. Chief methods of working; law suits, accountability sessions, attendance at Police Board meetings, and meetings with community persons.

ALL-ALLIANCE-GET-ACQUAINTED PARTY

December 7, Saturday starting at 8 P M at the Alliance headquarters. For all "Alliance" workers and supporters—to get to know each other. Among the plans—a talented dance leader will lead us from three steps to the right then to the left—to dancing Western style. So get out your ginghams and jeans—and musical instruments—and come. If time—RSVP.

NEW AFFILIATIONS

Recent new member organizations of the Alliance—St. Agatha Catholic Church, St. Frances Cabrini Catholic Church and Area 14 of the National Council of Jewish Women (a "superstructure" of NCJW encompassing entire Chicago-area). Many other organizations are considering joining at this time. Let us know if we can send a speaker to help bring in your organization. A literature pack is also available.

Exhibit No. 9A

# the alliance steering committee

Norman Boyden
Treasurer of The Alliance
Director of Urban Crisis Program of the
National Association of Social Workers

David C. Chevrier
Chairman, Political Surveillance Task Force
Minister, Wellington Avenue Congregational
Church

Richard Criley
Secretary, Legislative Task Force
Executive Director, Chicago Committee to
Defend the Bill of Rights

Martin Deppe
United Methodist Board of Social Concerns

Ross Hareno
Japanese-American Citizens League

Herbert Hazelkorn
Chairman, Finance Committee of the Alliance
Chairman, 13th Congressional District Politics
for Peace

Joan Hoffman
Vice Chairman of the Alliance
57th Street Meeting of Friends

Val Klink
Chairman, Legislative Task Force
Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent
Voters of Illinois

Sylvia Kushner
Executive Secretary, Chicago Peace Council

Judi McArdle
Member of Board of Directors
Cook County Special Bail Project

David Meade
Editor, OPEN LETTER
Director of Communications, Rosary College

Jack Mendelsohn
Chairman of the Alliance
Minister, First Unitarian Church of Chicago

Dick Menges
Oak Park-River Forest Citizens Committee for
Human Rights

Robert Mueller
Chairman, Task Force on Jury Reform
Pastor, West Side Christian Parish

Patrick O'Malley
Chairman, Police-Community Problems Task Force
Co-Pastor, St. James Catholic Church

James Osgood
Mattachine Midwest

Mary Powers
Winnetka Human Relations Committee

Harold Quigley
Chairman, Political Trials Task Force
Leader, Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago

Tom Sardina
Secretary of the Alliance
Volunteer Staff, Lawndale Peoples Planning and
Action Conference

Ann Seng
Catholic Interracial Council

Edna Williams
United Front of Cairo

Bobby Zacharias
Chairman, Media Repression Task Force
Winnetka Human Relations Committee

Exhibit No. 10

CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL
542 SOUTH DEARBORN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
(312) 922-6578-922-6579

Dear Friend,

We are enclosing a Call for A NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A DRASTIC CUTBACK IN MILITARY SPENDING to be held in Chicago, April 5 & 6. We hope you will help make this Conference a success.

Millions of our people are outraged by a military budget of $105 billion and, according to the Pentagon, inflation will raise that figure to $149 billion. This while the people are suffering from the effects of one of the worst crises in U.S. history.

While Pres. Ford has ordered cuts in necessary social services, there have been only increases in the military budget, which is being spent on U.S. domination around the world, on military assistance to reactionary and Fascist regimes, and particularly on escalating the nuclear arms race that threatens world destruction.

The crucial importance of launching a national action program for reduction in military spending and shifting the released funds to meet human needs was emphasized by Cong. Ronald V. Dellums of California, a member of the House Armed Services Committee. He said:

"...While every other government agency and program is scraped to the bone, especially the human needs program, only the military maintains its growth, at a rate that outstrips inflation."

The purpose of the National Conference is to mount a national campaign and a vigorous program of action which will speak to the hundreds of thousands who were part of the inspiring resistance to the war in Indochina. The people of the U.S. can and must turn this country around.

Congressmen Ralph Metcalfe, Bella Abzug and Les Aspin have been invited. Some of the speakers at the Conference will include: Congressman Abner Mikva (Ill.); Robert Johnston (Regional Director, U.A.W.); Richard Criley (Exec. Dir. Comm. to Defend the Bill of Rights); Norman Roth (Pres. Local 6, U.A.W.); Fr. Gerard Grant S.J. (Loyola University); Ed Sadlowski (Regional Director, United Steel Workers Union) and Frank Rosen (Intl. V-P, U.E.). The above will speak in plenary and/or workshops.

We urge all organizations to elect delegates to the Conference to help plan an effective national program of action to cut military spending.

We look foward to hearing from you.

Yours in Peace and Justice,

Sylvia Kushner

Sylvia Kushner
Executive Secretary,
Chicago Peace Council

ADVANCE REGISTRATION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A DRASTIC CUTBACK IN MILITARY SPENDING

April 5th and 6th, 1975
LaSalle Hotel - 10 N. LaSalle St.
Chicago, Illinois (downtown loop)

Name . . . . . Phone . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City . . . . . State . . . . . Zip . . . . . .

Organization . . . . . .

__/ I will attend the Conference. __/ Enclosed is $5.00 advance registration (must be received by March 31st)
Registration at Conference $8.00 - special consideration for unemployed

__/ I cannot attend. __/ enclosed is my contribution of $____ to help cover cost of the Conference.

__/ Please send me __ Calls for the Conference and place my name on the mailing list for all materials

Return this registration form and make checks payable to:
CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL
542 So. Dearborn St.
Chicago, Ill. 60605 - 312-922-6578

---------- send coupn to: ----------

CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL
542 So. Dearborn Street
Chicago, Ill. 60605 312-922-6578

HOSPITALITY:

We recommend LaSalle Hotel rooms if at all possible. The rates are:

__/ 2 to a room $13-15 each plus 5% tax
__/ 4 to a room $7.50-9.00 each plus 5% tax

there will be available some hospitality in homes __/ and place for sleeping bags __/ (bring your own)

Please contact the Chicago Peace Council for your housing requirements.

CHECK ABOVE THE TYPE OF ACCOMODATIONS YOU WANT. In the case of hotel room reservations, let the Council know if there are specific people you want to share the room, otherwise the Chicago Committee will make the assignments. (for groups of 3, a cot can be placed in the room for $7.00)
HOTEL RESERVATIONS SHOULD REACH CHICAGO BY MARCH 31st!

EXHIBIT No. 11

[From the Congressional Record—Extension of Remarks, Feb. 6, 1975]

REDS PREPARE ANTI-CHILE LOBBY

Hon. Larry McDonald of Georgia, in the House of Representatives,
Wednesday, February 5, 1975

Mr. McDonald of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, as part of the international campaign to bring down the anti-Marxist government of Chile, the Communist Party, U.S.A., has focused its efforts on pressuring Congress to cut off all forms of aid to Chile. I wish to draw my colleagues' attention to this campaign and its background.

On February 8 and 9, 1975, the Second National Conference in Solidarity with Chile will be held at Concordia Teachers College in the Chicago suburb of River Forest. This solidarity conference was organized by the National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile—NCCSC—a project of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—CPUSA—and its local affiliate, the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile which is run by CPUSA stalwart Sylvia Kushner from the offices of the Chicago Peace Council, yet another CPUSA front group.

The primary purposes of the conference, as indicated in the conference call, are to raise money from "progressive Americans" to "assist the resistance," to discredit the covert activities of the Central Intelligence Agency by "making use of the revelations relating to Chile"; and to "stimulate considerable support in the U.S. Congress for legislation helpful" to the Marxists.

The conference call, printed by Prompt Press, which has served for more than three decades as the "in-house" printer for the Communist Party and its fronts, states:

"Now is the time to consolidate and increase these efforts in Congress. During the next year it is our special responsibility, as U.S. citizens, to press for cutting off *all sales and all military and economic aid to the junta, a measure of great strategic and practical* importance to the anti-fascist forces in Chile. (Emphasis in the original)."

Let me remind my colleagues that the so-called anti-Fascist resistance in Chile is composed of the Chilean Socialist and Communist Parties together with several other Marxist parties and movements which were the Popular Unity coalition. Chile's Socialist Party was characterized in testimony before the House Internal Security Committee as "more extremist or leftist" than the strongly pro-Soviet Communist Party with which it has worked in close alliance for the past 20 years.

The Popular Unity coalition used their warm relations with Fidel Castro to import weapons to arm private, Communist paramilitary forces, including the terrorist MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left—headed by Salvador Allende's nephew, in preparation for a coup.

The non-Marxist government brought charges against many members of the Popular Unity coalition for crimes related to that planned takeover, including the diversion of government supplies and property and embezzlement. Many of the detained Marxists have now been expelled from Chile.

Communist Party literature has made clear the importance placed by the world Communist movement on the international campaign against the anti-Marxist Chileans.

Party Affairs, a confidential internal publication of the CPUSA, in April 1974, published a directive from the CPUSA International Affairs Commission to all members which said:

"Join and work with local Chile Solidarity Committees in your area wherever possible and work to ensure support for the Chilean struggle in your work center, your mass organization and your community."

Last July the NCCSC held a National Legislative Conference on Chile and People's Lobby, in the words of Party Affairs—

"To inform and involve Congressional leaders, to demand investigations of the U.S. role in the coup, to immediately cut off all forms of aid to the junta, and to urge that the U.S. open its borders to Chilean refugees."

The International Affairs Commission further ordered all Communists to "continually exert" pressure on Congress.

Regrettably, I see the names of three of my colleagues in the House on the list of sponsors of this Communist Party project.

The sponsors of the Second Chile Solidarity Conference have for the most part been drawn from the CPUSA hierarchy, and from such CPUSA fronts as

Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy—TUAD—which coordinates the penetration of trade unions and rank-and-file movements; the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression—NAARPR—which is active in the civil rights and prison movements; the National Lawyers Guild—NLG—legal bulwark of the Communist Party; the Emma Lazarus Clubs and the Venceremos Brigade, now also a party controlled operation.

Other sponsors haeve been drawn from CPUSA-controlled or influenced labor unions, often through the TUAD, such as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—ILWU; Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers; the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers; and the Amalgamated Meatcutters. And an additional group represent various Marxist-Leninist and Marxist organizations allied with the CPUSA in the Chile solidarity campaign. Among these groups are the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the People's Party, New American Movement, and the Socialist Party.

Among the better known admitted or identified CPUSA members sponsoring the call are John Abt, CPUSA general counsel; Herbert Aptheker, central committee member; Lucille Berrien; Fred Blair; Anne and Carl Braden; Joseph Brandt; Archie Brown, former national committee member; Bert Corona; Angela Davis, central committee member; Ernest DeMaio, international vice president of United Electrical Workers; Abe Feinglass; John Gilman; Charles Hayes; Sylvia Kushner; Charlene Mitchell, central committee member; Amadeo Richardson; Roque Ristorucci; Jack Spiegel; James West; and Helen Winter, secretary of the CPUSA International Affairs Commission.

The complete list of sponsors follows:

John Abt, Esq., New York City.
Harry Amana, journalist, Philadelphia Tribune.
Herbert Aptheker, American Institute for Marxist Studies.
Ramon Arbona, First Sec'y. U.S. Section/Puerto Rican Socialist Party.
Max Aragon, Vice President, Local 26, ILWU.
Gilbert Badilla, Sec'y.-Treasurer United Farm Workers, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Tony Baez, Puerto Rican Community Ind. School, Milwaukee.
Nick Ballas, Field Dir., Dist. 48, AFSCME, AFL–CIO.
James Barret, professor, Marquette University.
Bay Area Trade Unionists Com. for Chile.
Norma Becker, War Resisters League, New York City.
Louise R. Berman, San Francisco.
Lucille Berrien, chairwoman, Milwaukee Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression.
Fred Blair, chairman, Community Party of Wisconsin.
Edmund Bobrowiscz, but, agent Local 248, Amal. Meat Cutters & Butcher Work of N.A.
Harding Bond, president, Local 248, Amal, Meat Cutters & Butcher Work, of N.A.
Edward Boorstein, author, New York City.
Anne & Carl Braden, Southern Institute for Prop. and Organizing.
Edward Bragg, Vice president, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Workers.
Joe Brandt, Korea Focus.
Charles Briody, form. Nat'l. Chmn., Peoples Party.
Archie Brown, Executive Board, Local 10, ILWU.
Rev. John P. Brown, Ecumenical Peace Institute Berkeley.
Father Frank Buismato, Center for Peace & Social Justice, San Francisco.
Gene Byrnes, Casa Maria, Milwaukee, Wisc.
CALA, Madison.
Marion Calligaris, Trade Union Action & Democ. Chicago.
Humberto Camacho, Field Organizer, Local 1421, UERMW of America.
Joan Campbell, Assoc. Director, Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council.
Ward H. Cann, Dist. Chairman, Div. of World Peace, United Methodist Church of R.I.
Anthony J. Capizzi, S.J., Director, Campus Ministry, St. Joseph's College.
Prof. Fred J. Carrier, American Korean Friendship & Information Center, New York.
Anthony J. Cascone, Rec. Sec., Local 87, United Steelworkers of America.
Ernesto Chacon, Director, Latin American Unit for Civil Rights, Milwaukee.
Juan Chacon, Local 890. United Steelworkers of America.
Rev. Benjamin Chavis, Commission on Racial Justice, United Church of Christ.

Treasurer, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.
Chicago Citizen's Comm. To Save Lives in Chile.
Paul Chown, President, Dist. 10, UERMW of America.
Rev. Peter Christiansen, First Unitarian Church, LA.
Mary Clarke, Women's Strike for Peace, San Francisco.
Prof. James D. Cockroft, Rutgers-Livingston, New Brunswick, N.J.
Johnnetta B. Cole, Nat'l. Comm. Venceremos Brigade.
Robert E. Cole, New American Movement, Amherst, Mass.
Walter Collins, Exec. Dir., Southern Conf. Ed. Fund.
Common Front for Latin America, Washington, D.C.
Virgil Connins, Sec'y.-Treas., Local 216, UAW.
Marvel Cook, Nat'l. Legal Defense Fund.
Coordinating Committee for a Free Chile, Denver, Colo.
Bert Corona, organizer, C.A.S.A., Los Angeles.
Eleanor Crain, U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange.
Irving J. Crain, MD., Amer. Acad. of Psychoanalysts.
Sara Cunningham, Actors Equity Association.
Angela Davis, co-chairman, Nat'l. Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression, Communist Party, USA.
Admiral Dawson, Delegate, Los Angeles Co. Federation of Labor.
Father Mark Day, Los Angeles.
John Deckenback, Assoc. Exec. Dir. Joint Strategy & Action Comm., San Francisco.
Angelo Deitos, President, Local 78, UAW.
Ronald V. Dellums, Member, U.S. Congress.
Ernest De Maio, Chicago Commission of Inquiry in Chile.
Arsh Derbabian, Field Rep., Michigan Federation of Teachers.
Susan Duncan, Coordinator, L.A.P.A.G., Austin, Texas.
Ecumenical Peace Institute, Berkeley, Cal.
Dr. Eugene Eisman, professor, Univ. of Wisconsin.
Norman Eisner, New York City.
Joan Elbert, Clergy & Laity Concerned, Chicago.
Emergency Com. To Save Chilean Health Workers, New York City.
Fair Trials for Chilean.
Political Prisoners, Corvallis, Ore.
Richard Fagen, President, Latin American Studies, Assoc., Stanford Univ.
Stanley Faulkner, Nat'l Lawyers Guild, Committee for Justice in Chile.
Abraham Feinglass, Int'l V.P. Amal. Meat Cutters & Butcher Work of N.A. Chicago Comm. of Inquiry in Chile.
Joe Figueirido, Bus. Agent, Local 6, ILWU.
Ann Law Finch, Local 2345, AFGE.
Charles Finch, New American Movement, Durham, N.C.
Leon Finney, Woodlawn Organization, Chicago.
Mons. James B. Flynn, Chairman, Comm. on Social Justice, Catholic Archdiocese, San Francisco.
Henry Foner, President, Joint Board, Fur, Leather & Machine Workers.
Moe Foner, Exec. Sec'y Local 1199, Drug Hospital Workers.
Clifford Fried, Vice President, Local 2070. AFSCME, AFL–CIO.
Dr. A. Lisa Friedman, psychiatrist, New York City.
William Friedman, New York City.
Victor Fuentes, Spanish Dep't, Univ. of California.
Joel Gajardo, Comm. on U.S.-Latin American Policy Studies, Cornell Univ.
John Gardiner, Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men, San Francisco.
Russell W. Gibbons, Asst. Editor, STEEL LABOR/USWA, Philadelphia, Pa.
John Gilman, Regional Dir. PCPJ, Milwaukee.
Sidney Gluck, U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange, New York City.
Carlton B. Goodlett, Ph. D., MD., Editor-Publisher, The Sun Reporter, San Francisco.
Larry Gossett, Chmn., Third World Coalition, Seattle.
Rev. David M. Gracie, Urban Missioner, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania.
Rev. G. G. Grant, S.J., Dept. of Philosophy, Loyola Univ. Member, Chicago Comm. of Inquiry.
Terry Greene, Exectuive Board, Local 6, ILWU.
Dr. Sidney Greenfield, professor, Univ. of Wisconsin.
Sister Anne Greenslade, Sister's Council, San Francisco.
Edward Greer, professor, Hampshire College.
Father James Groppi, St. Joseph Young Christian Workers, Milwaukee.

Rita Gross, Comm. Against Inflation & Unemployment, Milwaukee.
Larry Gurley, Local 771, Am. Fed. of Teachers.
George Guitierrez, Councilor, Chance Program, Northern Ill. Univ., Human Rights Com./Member, Chicago Commission of Inquiry in Chile.
Jerry Hall, Local 535, Social Service Workers.
Mike Hamey, American Indian Movement, St. Paul, Minn.
John L. Hammond, Jr., Columbia University.
Dr. Howard Handelman, professor, University of Wisconsin.
Rhonda Hanson, Co-Chairperson, Milwaukee Comm. to Restore Democracy in Chile.
Leah Nudell, President, Lazarus Club of Los Angeles.
Michael Harrington, Member, U.S. Congress.
Chester Hartman, San Francisco.
Marii Hasegawa, President, U.S. Section, WILPF.
Charles Hayes, Chmn., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Aml. Meat Cutters & Butcher Work. of N.A., Chicago.
Robert High, NICH, Berkeley.
Fred Hirsch, San Jose Emergency Comm. to Defend Democracy in Chile.
Father William Hogan, Chicago Clergy & Laity Concerned.
George T. Hrbek, Lutheran Global Justice Taskforce.
Sister Mary Ann Ihm, professor, Marquette Univ.
Ying Lee Kelly, City Councilwoman, Berkeley, Calif.
Dr. David Kimmelman, Co-Chairperson, U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange.
Freida Kreitner, Women Speak Out for Peace & Justice, Cleveland.
Helen Kuzman, WILPF.
Sylvia Kushner, Exec. Sec'y, Chicago Peace Council.
Saul Landau, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.
Anna Langford, Alderwoman, City of Chicago/Chicago Comm. of Inquiry in Chile.
Latin American Solidarity Group, Atlanta, Ga.
Father Thomas LeMieux, Pastor, St. Michael's Church, Milwaukee.
Sandra Levinson, Center for Cuban Studies, New York.
Sheldon B. Liss, Univ. of Akron.
Blanche Livingstone, President, Women Speak Out for Peace & Justice, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. Richard Lobban, Ass't. Prof., Rhode Island College.
Lee Lockwood, author, Los Angeles Com. to Restore Democracy in Chile.
Walter Lowenfels, poet.
Dr. David Luce, professor, Univ. of Wisconsin.
Jack Lucid, Local 6, ILWU.
Prof. Beatrice Lumpkin, Local 1600, AFT.
Salvador Luria, professor.
Conrad Lynn, Esq., New York City.
Raymond Majerus, Dist. Director, District 48, UAW.
Bob Malone & Linda Medlin, Greenville Chile Support Comm., Greenville, N.C.
Bertha Marshall, Chairperson, CDC Club, Los Angeles.
Betita Martinez, author, Albuquerque, N.M.
Richard Massman, Asst. Dir., District 48, AFSCME–AFL–CIO.
Rabbi Robert J. Marx, Congregation Saulel, Highland Park, Ill.
Goldie Maymudes, President, City Comm., Jewish Cultural Club, Los Angeles.
Dr. Ray McCall, professor, Marquette University.
Frederick A. McGuire, Division for Latin America, U.S. Catholic Conference.
Lawrence McGurty, President, Local 1437, AFT.
David McReynolds, War Resisters League, N.Y.
Philip Meranto, professor, University of Washington.
Jorge Merida, Coordinating Committee for a Free Chile, Denver, Colo.
Sam Meyers, Local 259, UAW.
Michigan Com. for a Free Chile.
Joe Miller, National SANE.
Milwaukee Com. to Restore Democracy in Chile.
Charlene Mitchell, Exec. Sec'y, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.
Julio Mojica, Vice Pres., District 65, DWA.
Father Cucholian Moriarity, San Jose, Ca.
J. P. Moray, attorney, Chmn., Fair Trials for Chilean Political Prisoners, Corvallis, Oregon.

Rev. John C. Moyer, United House, Berkeley, Ca.
Helen Moser, Napa Methodist Church.
Marcos Munoz, United Farm Workers, Unitarian Church, Willmette, Ill.
Helen Murray, Comm. on Social Justice, Archdiosese of California.
Michael Myerson, author, NYC.
Vivian Myerson, President, Los Angeles WILPF.
NACLA, East & West.
National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation.
New American Movement.
New York Chile Solidarity Com.
NICH, Berkeley.
Robert Nichols, Avanza, New York City.
Grace, Paley, Resist, New York City.
Rev. William Parrish, Pastor, Summerfield Methodist Church, Milwaukee.
Dean Peerman, Man. Editor, Christian Centeury/Chicago, Commission of Inquiry.
Philadelphia Chile Emergency Com.
Symour Posner, Assemblyman, New York State.
Joanne Fox Przeworski, University of Chicago/Chicago, Commission of Inquiry in Chile.
Thomas Quigley, Division of Latin America, U.S. Catholic Conference.
John Randolph, Actors Equity Association.
Abba Ramos, Local 6, ILWU.
A. A. Raymor, former Alderman, City of Chicago.
Amadeo Richardson, President, Chelsea Action Coalition, New York City.
Roque Ristorucci, nat'l staff, Young Workers Liberation League.
Mark Rogovin, muralist, Public Art Workshop, Chicago.
Higinio Romo, President, Local 131, United Rubber Wkrs.
Pauline Rosen, Women Strike for Peace, N.Y.
Norman Roth, President, Local 6, UAW.
Carlos Russell, Dean, Brooklyn College School of Contemporary Studies.
Helen I. Safa, Rutgers University.
Augusto Sallas, Hispanic American Labor Council, Chicago.
Ralph Shapiro, Esq. NYC.
William H. Simons, Washington Teachers Union Local 61, American Fed. of Teachers.
Dr. James Silverbery, professor, University of Wisconsin.
Saul Silverman, Pres., Local 140/United Furniture, Workers of America, AFL-CIO.
Ed Smith, Field Organizer. Local 248/Amal. Meat, Cutters & Butcher Work, of N.A.
Rev. Kenneth Smith, Exec. Dir., Milwaukee Christian Center.
Lasker Smith, Chairman, Auto Workers Caucus, UAW, Local 2 Education Committee.
Rick Smith, Local 14, 11 WU, Oakland.
Francois A. Samlyo, Cooks Union Local 209.
Social Service Workers of Chilean Freedom, New York City.
Jack D. Spiegel, Org., Dir., Lake States District & Council/United Shoeworkers of America.
Dorothy Steffens, Exec. Director, WILPF.
Gloria Steinem, MS magazine.
Patricia H. Strandt, Local 71, Newspaper Guild.
Doris E. Streiter, Chairwoman, Chicago Comm. to Save Lives in Chile/Chicago Comm. of Inquiry.
Leon Sverdlove, President, Int'l. Jewelry Workers Union, AFL-CIO.
Ethel Taylor, Nat'l Coordinator, Women Strike for Peace.
Myra Taylor, Local 400, SFIU.
Frank Teruggi, Sr., Local 16, International Typographical Union, Chicago. Comm. of Inquiry.
Edith Tiger, Exec. Sec'y, Emergency Civil Liberties Com.
Lou Torre, Local 85, IAM.
Andres Torres, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, N.Y.
Urho Touminen Local 10, ILWU, Trade Unionists Chile Solidarity Com., Chicago.
Lloyd Vandevere, Vice Pres., District 10 UERMW of America, Northern Cal.
Vietnam Vets Against the War; Buffalo, N.Y.
Dr. Gilbert Walter, professor, University of Wisconsin.

Jack Weintraub, Local 85, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
Jeff Wilkenson, executive board, Local 164, International Molders and Allied Workers.
Women's Studies College, State Univ. of N.Y., Buffalo.
Malcolm Wright, Exec. Vice Pres., Michigan Federation of Teachers.
Jim West, Exec. Sec'y, Ohio Communist Party.
Jim Williams, Coordinator, Labor Today.
Helen Winter, Communist Party, U.S.A.
Charlotte Walker, Chicago Area Committee to Defend all Political Prisoners.
Andrew Young, Member, U.S. Congress.
Frank Zeidler Nat'l Chmn., Socialist Party/former Mayor of Milwaukee.
Joan Zeiger, Field Worker, Project Involvement, Milwaukee.

At this time, when the alleged involvement of our country in the affairs of foreign lands is being hysterically denounced by the Communist Party, its allies, and willing dupes, I would ask my colleagues to examine carefully the aims of those same groups as they seek to reimpose a Marxist regime on the people of Chile.

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EXHIBIT No. 12

[From the Alliance to End Repression]

REPORTING THE SEPT. 8 COUNCIL MEETING

Attendance: 75 persons; 47 organizations.

Special Report on Alliance Officers (with biographical notes).

Five Alliance officers were elected by acclamation. They are:

CHAIRMAN

*Rev. Jack Mendelsohn*, Minister, First Unitarian Church of Chicago. Born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1918. Attended Boston University, Harvard University (graduate work), Meadville Theological Seminary—where also now serves as a faculty member.

As senior minister of the historic Arlington Street Church of Boston (1959–1969), he developed new approaches to the role of an inner-city church which achieved national prominence. In October, 1967, the celebrated "Resistance service" was held, with Rev. Mendelsohn presiding, which resulted in the "conspiracy" to obstruct the draft charges against Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin and others.

Author of five books and numerous magazine articles; advisor and personal friend of the late Adlai Stevenson; member of campaign staff for Robert Kennedy. He has held leading positions in the fields of health, housing, & book publishing; president of the Urban League of Greater Boston (1965–1968). Among his current positions in Chicago are Board membership of the Abraham Lincoln Center, the Chicago Memorial Association, and the Hyde Park-Kenwood Council of Churches & Synagogues.

He is married to the former Joan Silverstone Hall, who is House Staff Coordinator of the University of Chicago Hospitals and Clinics.

VICE-CHAIRMAN

*Thomas Poindexter*, Coalition for United Community Action. Born in Chicago in 1933. Attended Corpus Christi Grammar School, Du Sable High School and the University of San Francisco.

Served as Co-Chairman for Concerned Black Catholics; Chairman of Concerned Black Christians and Black Christians Interested in Progress. Participated in the formation of the Coalition for United Community Action, and served as Assistant Coordinator. Has worked with Youth Teen Nations and other civic groups.

He has been married for 15 years and has three children.

VICE-CHAIRMAN

*Joan Hoffman*, 57th Street Meeting of Friends. Attended Syracuse University (1964); Case Western Reserve University. Cleveland (Master's Degree, 1969). Specialized in social science, social work, Latin American affairs and journalism.

Worked with Peace Corps in Columbia, South America; the Community Relations Commission, Oklahoma City; the Student Health Project, Cleveland; Syracuse University News Bureau. At present a family counselor for the Family Service Bureau of the United Charities.

TREASURER

*Norman Boyden*, Chicago Chapter, Nat'l Association of Social Workers. Born in Newark, N.J. in 1930. Attended New York University, Los Angeles State College and Jane Addams (Graduate) School of Social Work.

Has lived and worked in Chicago since 1961. Served as the westside Area Administrator of the Head Start Program of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Since April, 1970 has been the full time director of the Urban Crisis Program of the N.A.S.W.

SECRETARY

*Tom Sardina*, Lawndale Peoples Planning and Action Conference. Born and raised in Utica, N.Y. Attended Maryknoll College Seminary in Glen Ellyn, Ill., Sought deeper social involvement after the assassination of Dr. M. L. King.

Became volunteer community worker under the direction of Msgr. John Egan in Presentation Parish. Is now working as volunteer on staff of the Lawndale Peoples Planning and Action Conference, and taking night classes at Loyola Law School.

NATIONAL PRIORITIES TASK FORCE

Sister Ann Seng and others reported on interviews with three Circuit Court judges regarding bail & other questions. Questionnaires have been sent to all judges.

BAIL TASK FORCE

Norman Boyden reported that the bail reform program is being implemented by sending observers to the bail courts. Despite Judge Boyles' claims to the contrary, on-the-spot checks indicate that there is no ROR (Release on Recognizance) program. The presence of observers is having some noticeable effect on judicial conduct in addition to providing valuable data and may prove to be a strategic weapon for bail reform.

URGENT ACTION

More volunteer observers needed! Call 427–4064 if interested.

TASK FORCE ON LEGISLATION

John Kearney reported on the special meeting with Congressman Abner Mikva, which was attended by over 40 persons. Mikva confirmed the conclusions in our Legislative Bulletin that the "crime bills" contain many very dangerous provisions. He predicted that the Organized Crime Bill (S. 30) would be somewhat modified by Judiciary Committee amendments, but would probably pass overwhelmingly in the "law and order" hysteria—despite the fact that it is irrelevant to the breakdown of order. The House Internal Security Committee will report out some amendments to the Emergency Concentration Camp Act instead of the Senate approved repeal bill. The amendments are aimed at keeping the main features of the law intact.

TASK FORCE ON POLICE-COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Tom Poindexter reported that a program will be developed to deal with the related problems of police repression and community security. An initial meeting on Sept. 22 was attended by some 30 persons. Exploratory discussion will be continued Sept. 29.

ILL. SENATE-HOUSE COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE CAMPUS DISORDERS

Dale Gronemeier, a member of the Northern Ill. University faculty, reported that the Commission is a major threat to academic freedom in public and private colleges and universities. Its chairman, Senator G. William Horsley (R.-Springfield) has a record as a leading mccarthyite dating back to the infamous Broyles Bills. If campus "hearings" are held under his leadership, they could provoke serious confrontations; draft legislation would atack teacher tenure and impose censorship. (details to be given in forthcoming Legislative Bulletin or call 939–0675).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A one-hour documentary film on Vietnam, with commentary by David Schoenbrun, is available for showings from Thirteenth Dist. Politics for Peace (call Dr. Neil Aronson, 677–5021). . . . Gay Guard, Kenwood Hi student, urged let-

ters to Dr. James W. Redmond, 228 N. LaSalle (60601) protesting release of names of students to the Ill. Crime Investigating Commission as alleged members of SDS, in violation of school regulations safeguarding privacy.

Attend the Oct. 13 Council Meeting, First Unitarian Church, 5650 South Woodlawn—at 7:30 P.M.

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EXHIBIT No. 13

[From The Alliance To End Repression, Oct. 23, 1973]

A CALL FOR IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 23, 1973.

The President has created an unprecedented constitutional crisis.

By firing Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and forcing the resignations of Attorney General Elliott Richardson and his deputy William Ruckelshaus, the President has terminated an independent investigation of the Watergate conspiracy and related crimes, including possible bribery. In its stead, and in violation of his commitment to Congress and the people, he has resurrected the farce of the executive branch of government investigating and prosecuting itself.

He continues to assert that he is the sole judge of the scope of executive privilege, despite the contrary opinion of the federal courts. His agreement to submit portions of the Watergate tapes to the court has averted an immediate confrontation with a direct order of the court. But it has resolved none of the basic problems.

The Alliance To End Repression, a coalition of organizations which share a common commitment to justice and liberty within the democratic process, is profoundly concerned by this challenge to "a government of laws." In our judgment the issue now goes to the root of the principle upon which the Republic was founded, as summed up in the words of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia (10/12/73):

"[The President] is not above the law's commands. Sovereignty remains at all times with the people, and they do not forfeit through elections the right to have the laws construed against and applied to every citizen."

The current crisis is the culmination of a long series of conflicts with the Constitution, constituting multiple grounds for impeachment. Together, they reveal on the part of this Administration a consistent pattern of disregard and contempt for the Bill of Rights, the unique law-making powers of Congress, and the independence of the judiciary. Among these are:

1. The President usurped the war-making powers of Congress, and repeatedly invaded its legislative prerogatives by impoundment of legally appropriated funds.

2. On July 25, 1970, he personally approved the "Huston plan" for domestic political surveillance and espionage by such illegal methods as burglary, wire-tapping, mail covers and military spying on civilians.

3. He and his aides employed the governmental powers of official agencies, including the FBI, IRS, and Secret Service, to harass dissenters and critics of his Administration.

4. He and his aides interfered with a free press through the use of illegal wiretaps, FBI investigations and threats of criminal prosecutions.

5. He and his aides interfered with the right of peaceable assembly and protest, as in the illegal arrests of thousands of persons in Washington, DC on Mayday, 1971, and on other occasions.

6. He established within the White House a personal secret police (the "plumbers") operating outside the restraints of the law, which engaged in criminal acts including burglaries, warrantless wiretaps, espionage and perjury.

7. He and his aides caused the politically motivated and unjustified prosecutions of dissenters, and corrupted the constitutional function of grand juries to make them instruments of political surveillance and harassment. During the Ellsberg trial, he and a principal aide offered the presiding judge a high federal post, and for a long period of time withheld from the court knowledge of the burglary of the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

8. He and his aides interfered with and distorted the administration of justice through such acts as his efforts to limit the scope of the FBI investi-

gation of the Watergate break-in, and otherwise cover up the Watergate conspiracy.

Until the present Administration, no United States President has so overtly and repeatedly flouted the Constitution. Thanks to the voluntary adherence of past Presidents to the legal process, impeachment has not been raised as a serious question in more than a century. In breaking with this precedent, President Nixon has made the Presidency itself the central question. The founders of the Republic foresaw the possibility of such a constitutional crisis, and provided the means for its resolution through the provision for impeachment.

Impeachment by the House of Representatives, which functions as an extraordinary grand jury, does not require proof of the President's commission of ". . . . Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors," but only "probable cause" to warrant a trial before the Senate to resolve the issue of his guilt or innocence. The President has left us no alternatives other than to proceed with the process of impeachment, or to abandon the constitutional foundation and integrity of this "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

We have endured as a nation for two centuries because the people have proved capable of surmounting the cataclysmic crises of the past. Today, especially because of the critical problems of domestic and foreign policy, the people must take the necessary steps to reestablish a responsible government worthy of public trust. The choice before us, in the words of the late Justice Hugo Black, is "whether we as a people will try fearfully and futilely to preserve Democracy by adopting totalitarian methods, or whether in accordance with our traditions and our Constitution, we will have the confidence and courage to be free."

We do not doubt which choice will be made when the facts and issues are made clear.

The Steering Committee of the Alliance To End Repression, a coalition of religious, community, civic and civil rights organizations, calls up our Representatives in the House to proceed forthwith with the process of impeachment of the President.

We also urge Congress to act immediately to create the post of an independent prosecutor, not subject to executive branch authority or dismissal, to continue the investigation and prosecution of the Watergate and other Executive crimes and improprieties.

*Chairman:* Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, First Unitarian Church of Chicago.

*Vice-Chairmen:* Rev. Robert Mueller, West Side Christian Parish; Barbara England, Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ.

*Secretary:* Milton Cohen, Civil Liberties Commission at the Independent Voters of Illinois.

*Treasury:* Dr. Herbert Hazelkorn, 10th Congressional District Politics for Peace.

*Executive coordinator:* John J. Hill.

*Associate coordinator:* Betty Plank.

*Steering Committee:* Vance D. Archer III, Cook County special bail project; Tadeo Robert Camacho, Citizens Alert; Richard Criley, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Pat Dodson, Citizen Alert; Betty Gallery, Illinois prisons and jails project; Fred Glick, American Jewish Congress; Elyne Handler Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago; Walter Herrs, Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group; Esther Herst, Legislative Commission; Doris Hicks, Cook County special bail project; Julie Jacoby, Illinois prisons and jails project; Joseph Kestnbalm, Citizens Alert; Val R. Klink, Civil Liberties Commission at the Independent Voters of Illinois; Rev. Francis J. McGrath, Citizens Alert; David Meade, Alliance Publications; Helen Mumm, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Ed Schwartz, National Lawyers Guild; Adelle Noren, United Methodist Board of Social Concerns; Mary Powers, Winnetka Human Relations Committee; Harold Quigley, Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago; Francis Quinn, Political Trials Task Force; Helen E. Ray, Citizens Alert; William Chapiro, Wilmette Human Relations Committee; Rev. Roland Sibrie, Sacred Heart Catholic Church; Bobbette Zacharias, Media Committee.

Exhibit No. 14

22 E. VAN BUREN ST. CHICAGO 60605 312/427-4064 THE ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

April 8, 1975

Dear Friend,

The Fifth Anniversary of the Alliance to End Repression will be something to celebrate. The enclosed Progress Report describes some of the continued expansion of Alliance programs; new projects such as the Citizens Committee on the Media, and older ones such as the Bail Project.

But the disclosure of documented information about infiltration of civic groups by the Chicago Police Department has been the most dramatic event in our five-year history.

The expose occurred as a result of extensive investigative research connected with our law suit which attacks illegal Red Squad activities. To continue this effort and so many other Alliance projects takes not only the time of our staff and volunteers but also the contributions of our many supporters.

We urge you to be with us on April 26 to help celebrate. (Reserve early because of the anticipated response.) If however you cannot join us for this happy event, would you please tear off the bottom of the Progress Report, fill it out and return it with as large a check as you can. Your financial help is needed--much more now in order to continue our successes.

Sincerely,

Herbert Hazelkorn,
Finance Chairman

**Chairperson:** REV. JACK MENDELSOHN, First Unitarian Church of Chicago. **Vice-Chairpersons:** FRANK McGRATH, Association of Chicago Priests. CEDRIC RUSSELL, The Woodlawn Organization. SANTOS PEREZ, Archdiocesan Latin American Committee. MARY POWERS, Winnetka Human Relations Committee. **Secretary:** ALEXANDER DeVOLPI, Concerned Argonne Scientists. **Treasurer:** HELEN MUMM, Alliance Finance Committee. **Executive Coordinator:** JOHN J. HILL. **Associate Coordinator:** BETTY PLANK. **Steering Committee:** RANDY ARCENAS, Cook County Special Bail Project. PHILIP BRAIL, Social Action Committee of K.A.M. Isaiah Israel Congregation. SR. EILEEN BURKE, Adrian Dominican Sisters. MILTON COHEN, National Association of Social Workers—Chicago Chapter. RICHARD CRILEY, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. SR. JOANN CROWLEY, 8th Day Center for Justice. DAVID CUSHING, South West Community Organization for Peaceful Equality. PEGGY DEPPE, First United Methodist Church of Evanston. L. MORDY GILES, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization. RICHARD GUZMAN, Citizens Alert. DR. HERBERT HAZELKORN, Tenth Congressional District Politics for Peace. HANS LAGONI, Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ. JOYCE MARCO, Third Unitarian Church of Chicago. RICHARD MENGES, Alliance Public Relations. JEANETTE MUSENGO, Chicago Connections. ADELE NOREN, United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, Northern Illinois Conference. LAWRENCE PHILLIPS, Afro-American Family and Community Services. FRANCIS QUINN, Hyde Park Peace Council. REV. ROLAND SIBRIE, Sacred Heart Catholic Church. REV. GEORGE SIKES, South Suburban Human Relations Council. RUBY WILFORD, Community of United People. BOBETTE ZACHARIAS, Citizens Committee on the Media.

ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

APRIL 1975 PROGRESS REPORT

COUNCIL MEETING

5th Anniversary
Celebration
Sat'y, April 26

April 8, 1975 at 7:45 P M
the Second Tuesday
at 22 E. Van Buren

COUNCIL MEETING AGENDA...

The "Red Squad" . . . The Alliance's historic March 20 public disclosure of documented information showing illegal infiltration of civic groups by the Chicago Police Department will be the main item--with current information about the Red Squad's documents, activities and style. Various documents from the Alliance's dosaier will be circulated. A small sampling of such documents revealed five different "numbered" informants covering our meetings then relating their information "on the street" to another person--on its way to "our" file.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER...

The headquarters of the Alliance opened with two staff April 1, 1970. On Saturday evening, April 26, 1975 we will begin celebrating our 5th anniversary with a supper and commemorative program at McGiffert House, 5751 S. Woodlawn. A buffet dinner begins at 6 P M. Congressman Ralph Metcalfe has accepted our invitation to start the program with a keynote address about 7:00. A spoken history of the Alliance and its times--1970 to 1975--will be presented by a score of persons associated with Alliance programs over the years.

Our 5-year history leads to an Alliance first--the presentation of an Alliance "Civil Freedoms" award to Rick Gutman, our volunteer attorney who broke the Red Squad story--and by then, probably more of the story can be told. Twenty-nine year old Rick is an alumnus of Proviso East High, Harvard, U of Chicago, Peace Corps, Nader's Raiders and the ACLU.

A record turn-out is expected and we must make reservations ahead. So to guarantee admission, please purchase your tickets ahead and early--by mail or at the Alliance office...or through your delegate to the Alliance. $6.50 includes a roast beef dinner.

RED SQUAD EXPOSE...

Rick Gutman, volunteer attorney for the Citizens Alert Project of the Alliance to End Repression, was the one who identified the Red Squad undercover agents and the names of the Chicago civic groups they had infiltrated. The information was turned over to CHICAGO DAILY NEWS reporters, Larry Green and Rob Warden, with the agreement the Alliance be given credit for uncovering the facts.

The publicity aftermath was enormous, putting the Alliance's name on front pages for days. The WASHINGTON POST and NEWSWEEK, in telling the story, noted the Alliance's work against illegal surveillance. Local television carried interviews with Alliance representatives. WGN, WBBM and WLS provided the Alliance time to reply to their editorials.

State Representative Joseph Lundy has introduced a bill in Springfield which, if enacted would require Police Departments to obtain authorization from a judge before infiltrating an organization. A City Council meeting called to discuss the problem was adjourned for lack of a quorum.

A few law suits were filed in the wake of the news. Several organizations and individuals have asked to join the federal suit we have pending before Judge William Lynch. On our appeal from a court order which would have permitted the Police Department to destroy files on persons not named in our complaint, the Police Department was ordered, at least temporarily, to keep intact Intelligence Division files on all persons.

Meanwhile criminal proceedings continue before a County Grand Jury. Charges of burglary and illegal wiretapping alleged in our federal law suit are being investigated by the State's Attorney's Office. Senators Percy and Stevenson have requested

federal criminal investigation. This may be a touchy matter if newspaper stories that the FBI received stolen documents from the Red Squad prove to be true.

F R E E D O M  O F  I N F O R M A T I O N  B I L L . . .

The Alliance's Freedom of Information Bill, H R 452, introduced in Springfield last month by Representative Susan Catania and nine co-sponsors, is now being considered by the Executive Committee of the House of Representatives. John Huston, law student with our State Legislation Task Force, who drafted our bill, has testified that the need for such a bill is commonly felt by most people and organizations seeking public information and that the passage of such a bill is needed to bring the State of Illinois into line with procedures followed by federal agencies.

The Executive Committee will vote on the bill on Thursday, April 10. Wire, phone or write your representative before then to ask his help for H. R. 452, the Freedom of Information Bill. Call us if you need names, addresses, etc.

B A I L  L E G I S L A T I O N . . .

Fortunately most of the proposed revisions in the bail statutes have died in committee. However, H B 422, sponsored by Brian Duff has passed out of committee. This bill advocates bond revocation and holding accused without bond while additional proceedings are begun. Contact your legislators and urge them to oppose this bill; immediate action is needed. For additional information, call Judi McArdle, 427-4064.

C I T I Z E N S  C O M M I T T E E  O N  T H E  M E D I A . . .

Participants in last month's CCOM conference on "air time" were enthusiastic about coming together again--this time for a more extensive exploring of the print media. Carolyn Toll, CHICAGO SUN TIMES reporter who spoke at the conference, has arranged to conduct her Loop College Adult Education seminar at the Alliance headquarters for our convenience. The six-session, 5:30 to 7:30 Monday evening seminar will start April 21. Topics will include basic publicity skills for community groups, press releases, press conferences. There will be informal sessions with media people, in addition to Ms Toll, discussing why certain community issues are not covered the way people would like them to be. We will explore Community-Press Councils as a way of closing the gap between members of the community and their communities' media. Materials will be provided in the total fee of $5. There is a condition; for Loop College to offer this--a minimum of 15 registrants paying their $5-each the first evening. If all who signed up at the March conference can make this time, we will be assured of the full seminar. It will assure us--if you will let us know ahead you will be here 4/21 evening. Loop College gives one community credit for the course. Bring a sandwich; the Alliance will provide the coffee.

C O O K  C O U N T Y  S P E C I A L  B A I L  P R O J E C T . . .

Bail continues to expand. An additional staff person will be hired to help with Weekday Court. Resumes should be mailed to CCSBP, 22 E. Van Buren. Job description is available on request. And of course, volunteers always needed 7 days a week.

CALENDAR ITEMS . . . The Second Thursday, April 10 Citizens Alert delegation to the monthly Police Board Meeting; call Ruth Wells here. State Legislative Task Force: 1st and 3rd Mondays at 4:30. Gay Rights Task Force--Monday April 28 at 5:30 PM--on the new City Council and amendments to city codes and an employment thrust.

A L L I A N C E  F I N A N C E S . . . a reminder of our needing you . . . Many organizations sent in their annual affiliation contribution the first quarter--many more still due and needed. Individuals may "join" as "supporting members" at a $10 minimum yearly contribution--thus receiving these monthly Progress Reports, membership card--and a soon-to-be-published more extensive "Open Letter." Monthly or regular "pledges" are automatically supporting members. Please join us. 4/3/75

- - - -

Exhibit No. 15

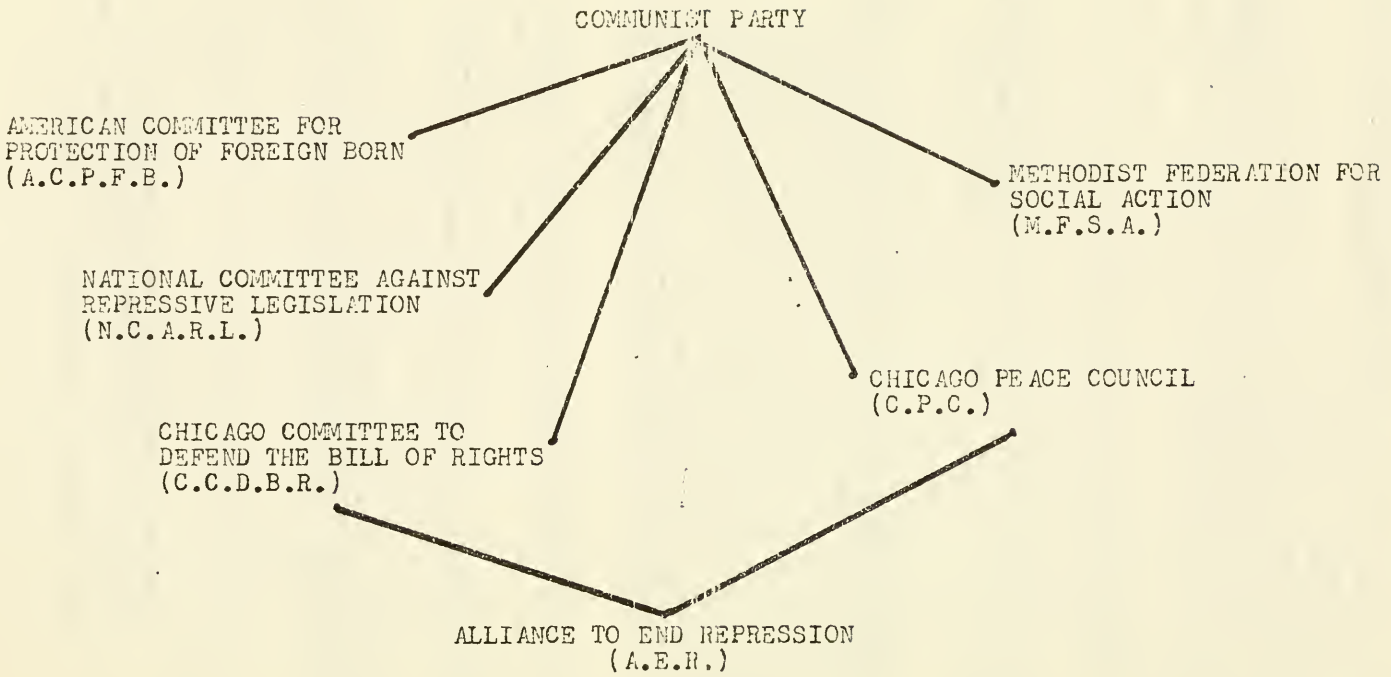
COMMUNIST PARTY
AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (A.C.P.F.B.)
METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION (M.F.S.A.)
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION (N.C.A.R.L.)
CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL (C.P.C.)
CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS (C.C.D.B.R.)
ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION (A.E.R.)

Exhibit No. 16

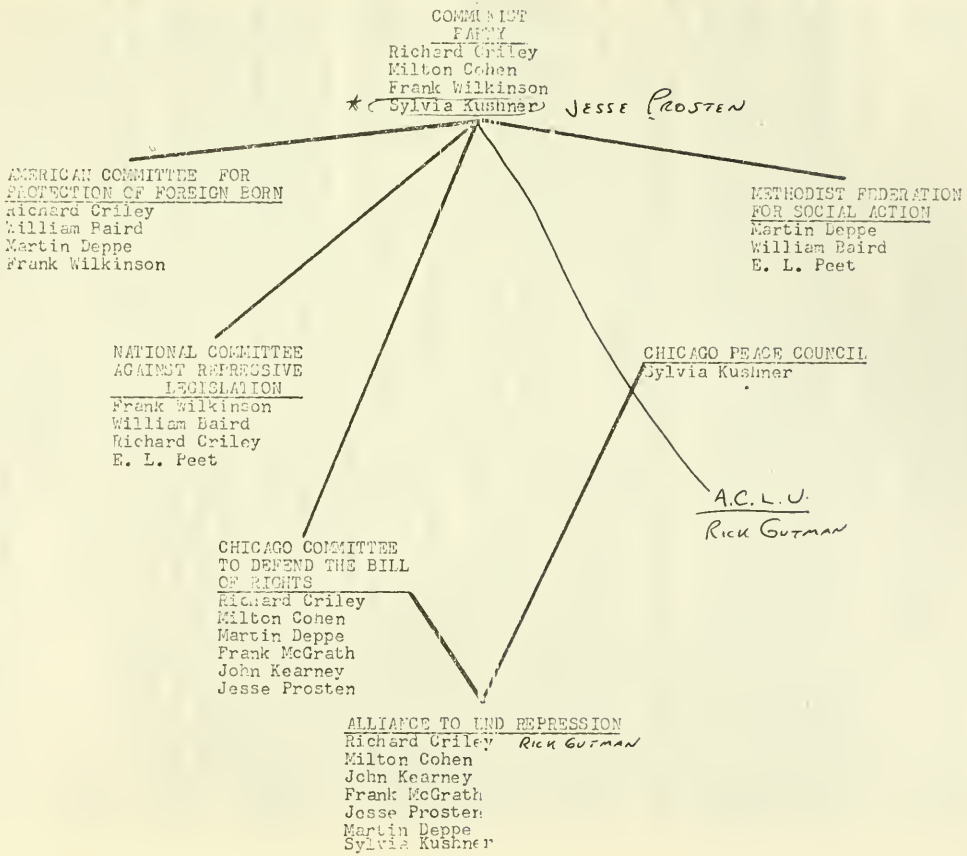

EXHIBIT No. 17

[From Daily World, Dec. 10, 1970]

HUNDREDS AT MIDWEST TRIBUTE TO GUS HALL

CHICAGO, Dec. 9—"What has happened to capitalism in the short 60 years of my life is tremendous."

With these words, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, greeted the hundreds of people from Chicago and the Midwest who overflowed the 60th Birthday Banquet given in his honor last Sunday.

"In 1910, the year of my birth," said Hall, "U.S. capitalism was getting ready for the period of its greatest expansion . . . but today its option to exist without a crisis is closed forever . . . New options are opening for the people. The great option is socialism."

Communists and non-Communists jammed the Presidential Ballroom of the Midland Hotel, coming from as far away as Hall's home state of Minnesota.

Chicago Alderman A. A. (Sammy) Rayner opened the program, saying, "Gus Hall vehemently detests hypocrisy, liars and tyranny; so do I, and that's why I'm here today to welcome Gus to Chicago."

Among those present were Claude Lightfoot, co-chairman of the CP's Black Liberation Commission and Chairman of the CP of Illinois; Fr. John Hill, chairman of the Chicago Alliance to End Repression; Tommy Dennis, chairman of the Michigan CP; Judy Edelman and Roque Ristorucci, national leaders of the Young Workers Liberation League and delegations from Minnesota, Indiana, Wisconsin, and St. Louis.

Ishmael Flory, Director of the African American Heritage Association, was minister of ceremonies.

Much of the banquet focused on the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis.

Thomas Curtis, executive secretary of the Chicago-Midwest Committee to Free Angela Davis, read a telegram to Miss Davis that declared:

"We assure you that no stone will be left unturned until we have defeated the frame-up charges machinated against you by the racist, rightist big business cabal, fronted for by Nixon, Agnew and Reagan, for we view the assault upon you as a frame-up of the U.S. working class, Black people, and the democratic forces throughout the world."

Two poems to Angela Davis were read by Lyn Bacchetti, a YWLL member.

Curtis also presented telegrams of support to Cesar Chavez, imprisoned leader of the farmworkers, and Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, framed on a murder charge in Connecticut.

Anita Satsifield and the Labor Saving Device gave a performance of folk and labor songs, and Helen Mackie of Minnesota also played several pieces on the piano.

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EXHIBIT No. 18

[From Daily World, Oct. 28, 1971]

TRIBUTE TO PATTERSON DRAWS A WIDE ARRAY

(By Ted Pearson)

CHICAGO, Oct. 27—The Presidential Ballroom of the Midland Hotel was packed with more than 400 people last Friday to mark the 80th birthday of William L. Patterson, the man who rocked the world with his charge of genocide against the U.S. imperialists.

Spokesmen for the committee sponsoring the banquet told the Daily World that many who had delayed in getting reservations had to be turned away.

Veterans of the working class movement said they could not remember an occasion bringing together such a broad spectrum of workers, trade unionists and professionals, in a tribute to a Communist leader.

GALAXY OF LEADERS

Sharing the head table with Patterson and his wife, Louise Thompson Patterson, were Ishmael Flory, master of ceremonies and chairman of the Banquet Committee; Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party; Claude Lightfoot and Arnold Johnson, CP leaders; Mrs. Sallye Davis, mother of Angela Davis; Pearl Hart, civil liberties attorney; Rev. John Hill, chairman of the

Alliance to End Repression; Ernest DeMaio, director of District 11 of the United Electrical Workers; Jack Kling, secretary of the Illinois CP; Lynn Stinnette, Illinois chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, and Betty Smith and Tommy Dennis, who led delegations from Minnesota and Michigan respectively.

IN THE AUDIENCE

In the audience was Jesse Hilton, who this year celebrated his 100th birthday.

Others included Dr. Quentin Young, president of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, Sylvia Woods, chairman of the Chicago Committee to Free Angela Davis; Fr. William Hogan, chairman of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned, and Obed Lopez, a leader of the Latin-American Defense Organization.

Also present were Nick and Virginia Jones, and Roberto Acuna of the United Farmworkers, and Sylvia Kushner, executive secretary of the Chicago Peace Council.

And so the list went on. They came from St. Louis, Indiana and Wisconsin.

GREETINGS FROM ABROAD

Greetings poured in from all over the world. They included a greeting from James Forest on behalf of the World Peace Council in Helsinki, from William Kashtan on behalf of the Communist Party of Canada, and from Detroit Judge George Crockett, Jr.

Songs were provided by folk singer Wynn Stracke of Chicago.

Artist Peggy Lipschutz presented a "chalk talk" depicting Patterson's life with songs by Anita Satisfield and Dan Mack.

Mrs. Sallye Davis told the audience, "My family has experienced in a very real way the impact of this man, William L. Patterson. We will never forget how tenaciously you have worked in Angela's behalf, and in behalf of all political prisoners everywhere."

ANGELA PETITIONS SIGNED

Every speaker urged the freedom of Angela Davis, the Black Communist woman who has been kept in virtual solitary confinement for over a year awaiting trial on a racist frame-up. Petitions demanding that Illinois Senators Charles Percy and Adlai Stevenson publicly demand the intervention of President Nixon for her immediate release on bail were circulated among those present.

Sen. Percy ought to have gotten the message, for the next day he shared the platform of Operation * * * spoke to more than 2,000 people, following her appearance on radio with Louise Patterson, chairwoman of the East Coast Committee to Free Angela Davis.

Lightfoot, speaking on behalf of the CP national committee, paid tribute to Patterson as a "man who has been able to lead in all seasons."

He cited the cases of Sacco and Vanzetti, Scottsboro, Trenton, Angelo Herndon, Warren Billings, Tom Mooney and Angela Davis.

As one of many emerging Black intellectuals of his time, said Lightfoot, it was Patterson's identification with the working class and the Communist Party that enabled him to tower among so many men and women of his generation.

Patterson, in his speech, hailed the Communist Party and the science of socialism that helped him in his struggle.

Among the many gifts received by Patterson was a small handmade chest with a sculptured clenched fist on its cover, made by Lester Wickstrom and artist Robert Jones. Other gifts included a hand-turned gavel made by an auto worker, and a gold pin and signed greeting from the United Farmworkers of America.

"I look forward," Patterson told the audience, "to another dinner, in another 20 years, and I am confident that it will be held in a socialist United States."

Exhibit No. 19

# REPRESSION 1970

Prepared by the
Chicago Committee on National Priorities
& Alliance to End Repression
431 S. Dearborn #1126
Chicago, Illinois 60605
427-[redacted]

# IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY—

## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

has since May 6, 1967, experienced the following in the United States:

34 raids on Panther offices and homes, with equipment smashed, food and medicines destroyed, money taken

20 Panthers killed

274 arrests, charges from "spitting on the sidewalk" to "murder;" of these 180 resulted in dismissals, acquitals, or two days in jail.

In Chicago alone, since December 12, 1968, they have experienced:

4 raids on offices and homes, the last resulting in the death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark

5 Panthers killed, including the above

144 arrests (Fred Hampton was arrested three times); of these, 26 cases resulted in dismissals, acquitals, or a day in jail.

(This data is based on actual count of cases presented by Attorney Charles Gary to the Congressmen here for the hearing on the Hampton murder.)

## JUST BEING BLACK

Every week, some Black youth is killed by the police; for example:

January 8, 1969 - Floyd McDaniels, 13 years old, shot by policeman John Montgomery, who claimed the boy pulled a knife. "Justifiable homicide"

November 11, 1969 - Steven Dixon, 18 years old, released after questioning, killed as he walked away.

October 5, 1969 - John Soto, 16 years old, shot by Thomas F. Nolan during a struggle--cause of struggle not stated.

October 9, 1969 - Michael Soto, brother of John, home from Vietnam on compassionate leave to attend his brother's funeral, shot by Robert Rahm while being questioned about a mugging. The inquest on these two cases repeatedly adjourned; finally judged "justifiable homicide."

September 14, 1969 - James Hoy, 17 years old, shot by Byron Uppling as he stopped with hands up after ordered to do so by the officer.

June 4, 1968 - Ronald Nelson, 19 years of age, shot in the back by Richard Nuccio in an alley opposite Wrigley Field.

That a national campaign against the Black Panther Party is being carried out by federal law enforcement agencies was given further substantiation by the refusal of Mayor Wes Uhlman of Seattle to cooperate with an "information gatherine" raid on Panther headquarters in that city. He said such raids smack of "Gestapo-type" tactics.

(All above information from the Chicago Sun-Times.)

# SPREADS TO WHOLE COMMUNITY-

## THE CONSPIRACY

The Anti-riot Bill, passed specifically to "get" Black leaders Stokely Carmichael and Rapp Brown, was used first to sentence five white peace leaders to five years in jail plus $10,000 fine and cost of $42,000. Two others and two attorneys were given sentences ranging from six months to four years for "contempt," because they protested the obviously biased decisions of the judge. This anti-riot law makes it a crime to cross state lines with intent to create a riot. How does one judge intent?

## WEATHERMEN

However much one must deplore the actions of the Weatherman Faction, the reaction of police and courts has been far beyond the seriousness of the act committed. Bond of $100,000 for Brian Flanagan, $20,000 and up for others--while convicted gangsters are freed on $2,000 bond. The unprecedented report of the Grand Jury, recommending more police spying, more investigations of "communistic" ideas, more rapid sentencing of "subversive" elements, is an invitation to go back to the McCarthy era.

## BILL OF RIGHTS?

It has now been established that the U.S. Army is collecting and filing information on thousands of Americans who, in the opinion of the command officials, might cause "trouble for the army." This includes members of the NAACP, the ACLU, Women Strike for Peace, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Georgia State Representative Julian Bond. Reports that the files have been discontinued have been found to be untrue.

New Post Office regulations authorize the opening of all mail from overseas at the discretion of any postal clerk who thinks "it looks suspicious."

Alderman Sammy Rayner, recently defeated for Congress and involved in many activities for the betterment of the Black community, is under close surveillance by the Chicago Police Department Red Squad. Members of peace organizations are well aware that the Red Squad is present at all peace meetings, rallies, and parades, where numerous pictures are taken of the participants.

The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has notified supervisors to report to him the names of all subordinates who were present at the anti-war meeting in Washington on November 15.

Dum-dum bullets, outlawed for use in warfare, are being used by some federal agencies and hundreds of police departments. Although the Chicago Police Department does not issue dum-dums, it does not object if policemen use them. Mr. Jurras, a manufacturer of dum-dums has estimated that half the members of the Chicago Police Department and half of the Cook County Sheriff's Department carry dum-dum bullets.

# AND ACQUIRES THE SANCTION OF LAW.

The Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970, passed by the House of Representatives and ready to go to the Senate, entitles the Secretary of Defense to restrict certain undefined individuals from working in any place related in any way to defense. This could include colleges doing research or any place having government contracts. The individual so restricted would not have the right to confront his accuser.

The "No-Knock" Drug Bill, which has passed the Senate, would permit the police to enter a home without prior announcement of who they are, if they "had reason to believe" that the occupant might destroy evidence of possession of drugs if he knew the police were there. This opens up the possibility of unlimited abuse. The Committee for Effective Drug Abuse Legislation has charged that under the bill "the long arm of the attorney general would reach into every man's bathroom medicine cabinet."

The "Preventive Detention" bill for the District of Columbia is Senator Tyding's way of maneuvering to start a ball rolling, because Senator Sam Ervin will not permit S.2600, which applies to all persons accused of committing a federal crime, to get out of his committee. Senator Ervin says the bill "smacks of a police state." Both bills would permit a person charged with committing a violent felony to be imprisoned for 30 days prior to trial if there is a "substantial likelihood" that if he were released he might commit certain felonies. The Bail Reform Act of 1966 establishes that a man accused of a crime must be released on bail unless there is a probability that he will flee the jurisdiction of the court.

In the New York trial of the Panthers, Judge Murtagh has decreed that the trial will not go on until the Panthers sign a pledge of good behavior in the court room, to "abide by the American system of justice." The Panthers have no intention of signing such a statement because, as they point out in a 24-page statement, "the American system of justice".is a hideous sham and a revolting farce as far as the poor people, both Black and white, are concerned. If Judge Murtagh is allowed to uphold his decree, the Panthers can be in jail, without a trial, for the rest of their lives.

On February 24, Judge Edwin Robson in Chicago ordered that the Chicago 15 and their counsel shall "make or issue no statements, written or oral, either at a public meeting or occasion, or for public reporting or dissemination in any fashion, regarding the jury or jurors in this case, prospective or selected, the merits of the case, the evidence, actual or anticipated,the witnesses or the rulings of the court."

The Nixon Administration, through Attorney General Mitchell, has asked for legislation to force suspects to submit to identification tests such as finger prints and blood and saliva specimensto determine if they should be charged with federal crimes. This is in answer to a Supreme Court decision last month that it is unconstitutional to require finger printing of suspects and then match the fingerprints with evidence of the crime.

"THERE IS ONE CHOICE WE CANNOT MAKE, WE ARE INCAPABLE OF MAKING, WE WILL NOT CHOOSE THE PATH OF SUBMISSION" - Woodrow Wilson, about Fascism, as quoted in the Panther 21 statement to Judge Murtagh.

Exhibit No. 20

# Illinois Committee for a Fair Ballot

■ 431 South Dearborn, Chicago [illegible] -- Room 1127 ■ 641-0147

■ **INTERIM CHAIRMAN:** ALDERMAN A.A. (SAMMY) RAYNER ■ **SECRETARY:** JANET CANTRICK

SPONSORS

Charlotte Adelman, Attorney

William Bantz, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees

Polly Cocoselly, Chicago Women Liberation Union

Richard Criley, Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights

John Hill, Alliance to End Repression

Hiroshi Kanno, Japanese-American Citizens League

John Kearney, Friendship House

Sidney Lens, New Mobilization Committee

Curtis MacDougall, Northwestern University Law School

Ted Pearson, Communist Party

Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party

Ted Stein, Chicago Legal Defense Committee

Studs Terkel, Radio Commentator, WFMT

Walter Williams, Independent Union of Public Aid Employees

Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf, Congregation Holsl

(organizations listed for identification purposes only)

No. 2

August 10, 1970
For further information
contact: Janet Cantrick
641-0147

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ATTENTION: City Desk

THREE JUDGE PANEL TO HEAR ELECTION LAWSUIT WEDNESDAY

SUIT BY SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY TO BE JUDGED

A three federal judge court has been convened for Wednesday, August 13, 1970, to assess the merits of a suit by the Socialist Workers Party, challenging the constitutionality of three discriminatory provisions of the Illinois election law. The three provisions refer to the "loyalty" oath, which is mandatory for all candidates, the distribution requirements on collecting signatures for independant candidates, and the provision restricting primary voters from signing independant nominating petitions.

The three judge panel consists of Judges Will and Parsons from the U.S. District Court and Judge Sweigert from the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals. The case will be argued by attorney Val Klink, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The case will be heard at 2:00 p.m. Wednesday in Judge Will's courtroom in the Federal Building.

END

EXHIBIT NO. 21

# ~ RALLY AND MARCH ~

# END POLICE SPYING & POLICE HARASSMENT! ABOLISH THE RED SQUAD!

## JOIN US!

(Partial List)

ALLIANCE TO END REPRESSION

OPERATION PUSH

CHICAGO TOMORROW

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

WOMEN FOR PEACE

CITIZENS FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

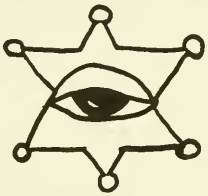
STATEVILLE ELEVEN

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

SURGE

GRAY PANTHERS



Boss Daley and Chief Rochford claim that police spies are necessary to protect us from "subversives."

But they are the real subversives. Police Department spying, harassment, wiretaps, infiltration of citizens' groups, and "Mission Impossible" games subvert democratic rights and poison our political life.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE RED SQUAD! HEAR RICHARD NEWHOUSE, STUDS TERKEL, AND OTHERS SPEAK! JOIN THIS FESTIVAL TO DEFEND YOUR RIGHTS!

## SATURDAY~APRIL 19~1pm~CIVIC CENTER

## MARCH TO 11th & STATE, CPD H.Q.

For further information, call 373-3366 or 953-0931

# INDEX

NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

A


Page

"A Democratic Society, or a Police State in America, Which Shall It Be?" (brochure) ---- 108, 109, 114
Abraham Lincoln Center ---- 185
Abt, John ---- 181
Abzug, Congresswoman Bella ---- 178
Action for Survival ---- 83
Acuna, Roberto ---- 195
Adams, Rev. John P ---- 124, 135
Addams, Geno ---- 75, 129
Adelman, Charlotte ---- 200
Adrian Dominican Sisters Social Concerns Committee ---- 70, 174
African American Heritage Association ---- 194
Afro-American Family and Community Service ---- 174
Afro-American Patrolmen League ---- 119, 121, 172, 173
AFSC ---- 96
Agnew, Spiro ---- 194
Ahmad, Eqbal ---- 89, 94
Alexian Brothers ---- 97
Alliance to End Repression ---- 57–60, 62–68, 71, 72, 74–80, 82–87, 89, 95, 96, 100–102, 104–106, 108–113, 117–138, 141, 145–148, 151, 165, 168, 171–173, 175, 177, 185, 187–192, 195, 196, 200, 201
  Affiliated member organizations (list) ---- 70
  Contributors to (table) ---- 134
  Progress report ---- 74
  Steering committees (lists) ---- 105, 172–174, 188, 189
Alliance Open Letter (publication) ---- 85, 86, 105, 177
Alliance Police-Community Problems Task Force ---- 105, 177
Amalgamated Meatcutters ---- 181
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) ---- 62, 64, 76, 91, 105, 116, 125, 173, 190, 198, 200
American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born ---- 107, 145, 146, 150, 192, 193
  Sponsors (list) ---- 150
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ---- 200
American Indian Center ---- 83
American Jewish Congress ---- 105
American Legion ---- 146
American Youth Congress ---- 146
Anglin, Frank A., Jr ---- 151
Appelhans, Lynda ---- 59
Appelhans, Margaret ---- 59
Aptheker, Herbert ---- 170, 171, 181
Arcenas, Randy ---- 78, 174
Archdiocesan Latin American Committee ---- 76, 174
Archer, Vance D., III ---- 82, 83, 105, 173
Arlington Heights Human Relations Committee ---- 134
Armitage Avenue United Methodist Church ---- 106
Aronson, Dr. Neil ---- 186
Aspin, Congressman Les ---- 178

Association of Black Social Workers ..... 70
Association of Chicago Priests ..... 174
Association of Chiefs of Police ..... 124
Association of Priests ..... 87

B

Bacchetti, Lyn ..... 194
Bail Task Force ..... 58, 88
Baird, Rev. William ..... 106, 145–147, 150, 151, 167, 168, 193
Ball, Rev. Frederick E ..... 168
Ball, Rev. Lee H ..... 150, 168
Bannon, W. H ..... 96, 97
Banta, William ..... 200
Barna, Melvin ..... 75, 130
Barth, Karl ..... 107, 168
Bassett, Henry ..... 83
Baustin, JoAnn ..... 83
Beach, Robert F ..... 168
Beaver 55 ..... 97, 99
Becchetti, Arnold ..... 59
Bender, William ..... 80
Benford, Clare ..... 83
Bensinger, Peter ..... 172
Berrien, Lucille ..... 181
Berrigan ..... 89
Berrigan, Daniel ..... 97, 99
Berrigan, Philip ..... 94, 97
Beverly, Leon ..... 59
Black P Stone Nation ..... 118
Black Panther Party ..... 96, 157, 194, 197
Black Panthers ..... 80, 119, 173, 199
Black Liberation Commission ..... 59, 147, 194
Blair, Fred ..... 181
Bond, Julian ..... 198
Bow, Gene Bear ..... 82
Boyden, Norman ..... 82, 87, 88, 105, 173, 177, 186
Boyle, Judge ..... 88, 186
Braden, Anne ..... 167, 181
Braden, Carl ..... 167, 181
Bradley University ..... 146
Brail, Dick ..... 78
Brail, Phil ..... 174
Brandt, Joseph ..... 181
Brown, Archie ..... 181
Brown, Rapp ..... 198
Burke, Sister Eileen ..... 174
Burton, Representative Phillip ..... 175
Busch, Harry ..... 79

C

CADRE ..... 96
Cahill ..... 123
California ..... 113
California, University of ..... 92, 170
Cannon, James ..... 141
Cantrick, Janet ..... 200
Carey ..... 82
Carey, Bernard ..... 119, 122, 173
Carmichael, Stokely ..... 198
Carswell, Judge ..... 87, 104
Casey ..... 126
Cassandra ..... 123
Cassius, Karen ..... 175
Castro, Fidel ..... 169, 180
Catania, Susan ..... 65, 75, 191

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago ..... 91, 177
Catholic War Veterans of U.S.A. (St. Martin de Porres Post 1854) ..... 70
Caulfield, Barbara ..... 119
Cawley, Arthur ..... 123
Celler, Representative Emanuel ..... 116
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) ..... 180
Chamberlin, Rev. Mark A ..... 150
Chase, Fred ..... 98
Chavez, Cesar ..... 194
Chevrier, Rev. David C ..... 105, 173, 177
Chicago ..... 41, 43–47, 51–55, 58, 61, 80, 87, 97, 99, 113, 118, 119, 124, 125, 127, 132, 134, 138, 140, 179, 194, 195, 197, 199
Police Department ..... 41–45, 49, 51–53, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76, 107, 119, 124, 127, 129–131, 138, 139, 141, 149, 172, 189, 190, 198
Headquarters ..... 62
Intelligence Division ..... 57, 66, 75
Internal Affairs Division (IAD) ..... 118
Police Board ..... 65, 71, 105, 119–122, 124–126, 172, 191
Red Squad ..... 64, 71, 75, 76, 79, 104, 119, 122, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130, 137, 138, 148, 149, 174, 190, 198, 201
Chicago 7 ..... 56
Chicago 15 ..... 98, 111, 199
Chicago 15 Defense Committee ..... 98
Chicago Area Fellowship for Renewal ..... 70, 134
Chicago Area Unitarian Universalist Council ..... 70
Chicago Bar Association ..... 91
Chicago Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights ..... 58, 67, 68, 70, 90, 105, 107, 117, 118, 122, 123, 134, 145–147, 151, 174, 177, 178, 192, 193, 200
Advisory Council (list) ..... 151
Board of Directors (list) ..... 151
Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights ..... 145
Chicago Committee on National Priorities ..... 134, 196
Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile ..... 180
Chicago Connections ..... 70, 174
Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission ..... 81
Chicago Council of Lawyers ..... 91
Chicago Daily News (newspaper) ..... 61–64, 75, 77–79, 104, 105, 130, 137, 146, 168, 190
Chicago Disciples Union ..... 70
Chicago Fair Play for Cuba Committee ..... 146, 168, 169
Chicago Heights Unitarian Universalist Community Church ..... 70
Chicago Lawyers Guild ..... 91
Chicago Legal Assistance Association ..... 121
Chicago Memorial Association ..... 185
Chicago-Midwest Committee to Free Angela Davis ..... 194, 195
Chicago Peace Council ..... 70, 105, 147, 177–179, 192, 193,195
Chicago State University ..... 173
Chicago Sun Times (newspaper) ..... 65, 91, 96, 102, 105, 123, 175, 191, 197
Chicago Theological Seminary ..... 173
Chicago Today (publication) ..... 105
Chicago Tomorrow ..... 201
Chicago Tribune (newspaper) ..... 63, 105, 107, 147, 168, 175
Chicago, University of ..... 64, 83, 91
Divinity school ..... 96
Chicago Urban League ..... 123
Chicago Womens' Liberation Union ..... 200
Chile ..... 180
Christian Century (magazine) ..... 96
CIO packinghouse workers ..... 170
Citizens Action Program (CAP) ..... 75, 130
Citizens Alert ..... 64, 65, 69, 73–76, 119–122, 124–127, 130, 134–137, 172, 174, 175, 190, 191
Citizens for a Better Environment ..... 201

60-030 O - 75 - 12

Citizens Committee on the Media (CCOM) ---- 65, 76, 174, 191
Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms ---- 144
Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent Voters of Illinois ---- 105, 171, 177
Civil Service Commission ---- 75, 76, 114, 118–120, 122, 123, 172
Clark, Mark ---- 87, 91, 104, 111, 197
Clark, Ramsey ---- 100, 116
Clergy and laymen concerned ---- 107, 195
CNA Corporate Responsibility Division ---- 69
Coalition for United Community Action ---- 111, 185
Coffin, William ---- 94, 185
Cohen, Milton ---- 58, 68, 75, 83, 105, 120, 123, 129, 146, 148, 151, 171, 173, 174, 188, 193
Commager, Henry Steele ---- 102, 154
Committee Against Nazism and Fascism ---- 134
Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks ---- 168
Committee for Effective Drug Abuse Legislation ---- 199
Committee on Illinois Government ---- 91
Communist ---- 107
Communist Party ---- 42, 57–60, 67, 92, 93, 95, 143–148, 157, 180, 181, 192–195, 200
  Canada ---- 195
  Illinois ---- 59
  United States (CPUSA ---- 59, 127, 143–149, 180, 181, 201
    Public appearances of party leaders on campuses, school year 1968–69 (list) ---- 170, 171
Community Christian Church of Chicago ---- 70
Community of United People (of Holy Family Catholic Church) ---- 70
Community of United People ---- 174
Concerned Argonne scientists ---- 70, 134, 174
Concerned Citizens for Police Reform ---- 121
Concordia Teachers College ---- 180
Congregation Solel ---- 200
  Religious Action Committee—Highland Park ---- 70
Congressional Record ---- 141, 147, 158, 180
Conlisk ---- 91
Connelly, Polly ---- 200
Conspiracy Seven ---- 55, 56
Conyers, Representative John, Jr ---- 116, 159
Cook County ---- 104, 111
  Grand jury ---- 47, 62, 65
  Criminal Justice Commission ---- 133
  Sheriff's department ---- 198
Cook County Bar Association ---- 83, 91
Cook County Special Bail Project (CCSBP) ---- 65, 69, 72, 76, 81, 82, 88, 105, 120, 132, 136, 137, 174–177, 191
Corona, Bert ---- 181
Coroner's Inquest Task Force ---- 105
Countryman, Vern ---- 167
Countryside Unitarian Universalist Fellowship ---- 70, 134
Cox, Archibald ---- 123
Crane, Sylvia E ---- 167
Criley, Florence ---- 169
Criley, Richard L ---- 58, 59, 67, 78, 90, 105, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 130, 134, 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 167, 169–174, 177, 178, 188, 193, 200
Crockett, Judge George, Jr ---- 195
Cross, Rev. Thomas ---- 105, 173
Crowley, Sister Joann ---- 78, 174
Cuba ---- 66
Cummins, Mary ---- 83
Cummins, Robert ---- 82
Curtis, Thomas ---- 194
Cushing, David E ---- 41, 61, 62, 77, 78, 83
  Testimony of ---- 131–141

D

Daily Defender (publication ---- 104, 105
Daily World (newspaper) ---- 59, 147, 194

Daley, Mayor Richard J---- 62, 79, 201
Dart ---- 43, 44
Davis, Angela---- 89, 92–84, 107, 147, 168, 181, 182, 194, 195
Davis, Rennard---- 56
Davis, Mrs. Sallye (Sally)---- 59, 147, 194, 195
Days of Rage---- 47
Dellinger, David---- 56
Dellums, Cong. Ronald V---- 182
DeMaio, Ernest M---- 59, 147, 151, 181
Democratic Convention---- 114
Democratic National Committee Headquarters---- 114
Democratic Party---- 120
Democratic Platform Committee---- 114
Democratic Study Group (DSG)---- 115
Deninus, Tommy---- 147
Dennis, Tommy---- 59, 194, 195
DePaul University---- 91
Deppe, Rev. Martin L---- 59,
67, 69, 105, 106, 108, 146–148, 151, 168, 173, 177, 193
Deppe, Peggy---- 174
DeVictor, Maude E---- 105, 173
DeVois, DeLake June---- 66
DeVolpi, Alexander---- 174, 189
Dickerson, Earl B---- 151
Diskin, Louis---- 170
District of Columbia Committee for the Bill of Rights---- 42
Dixon, Steven---- 197
Donner, Michael---- 97
Dorneker, Eugene---- 41, 137
Testimony of---- 57–106, 141
Douglas, Justice William O---- 153
Dow Chemical Co---- 97
Drinan, Cong. Robert---- 115, 173
Drug and Hospital Workers---- 181
Duff, Brian---- 65, 191
Dunne, George---- 172
Durkin, William A---- 98

E

East Coast Committee to Free Angela Davis---- 195
East Garfield Park Joint Planning Committee---- 105
Edelman, Judy---- 194
Eisenscher, Michael---- 171
Ellsberg ---- 187
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee---- 144, 145
Emerson, Thomas I---- 158
Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Club---- 70, 181
England, Barbara---- 171, 188
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission---- 125
Ervin, Senator Sam---- 199
Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago---- 70, 105, 134, 173, 177
Evanston Ecumenical Action Council---- 70

F

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)---- 42, 45, 93, 114, 144, 148, 187
Federal District Court, Northern District of Illinois---- 43, 44
Feinglass, Abe---- 181
57th Street Meeting of Friends---- 70, 87, 105, 134, 177, 185
Finke, David---- 96
First Congregational Church of Wilmette---- 70
First Unitarian Church of Chicago---- 70, 87, 105, 134, 171, 174
First United Methodist Church of Evanston---- 70, 174
Fitzgerald, Judge Richard J---- 62
Fitzpatrick, Charles---- 148
Fitzpatrick, Tom---- 96
Flory, Ishmael---- 59, 147, 194

Flanagan, Brian ..... 198
Fonda, Jane ..... 151
Ford, President Gerald ..... 178
Forest, James ..... 195
Freedom of Information Bill ..... 65
Friendship Club ..... 70, 173
Friendship House ..... 70, 87, 89, 134, 200
Fritchman, Rev. Stephen ..... 150
Froines, John ..... 56
Fullenkamp, Chuck ..... 98
Fund for Reconciliation ..... 124, 134

G

Gabow, Frances ..... 59
GAP ..... 75
Gargan, Ed ..... 98
Gay Rights Task Force ..... 65
Georgetown University ..... 42
Gignoux, Judge ..... 56
Giles, L'Mordy ..... 174
Gilman, John ..... 181
Glencoe Human Relations Committee ..... 70, 134
Glick, Fred E ..... 69, 105, 119, 121, 126, 130, 172, 173
Goodrich ..... 120
Grant, Gerard, S. J ..... 178
Gray Panthers ..... 201
Green, Ben ..... 59
Green, Larry ..... 61–64, 75, 77, 79, 130, 137, 190
Greenberg, David ..... 96
Gronemeier, Dale ..... 186
Groppi, Rev. James ..... 182
Guard, Gay ..... 186
Gutman, Richard M. (Rick) ..... 64, 66, 75, 76, 79, 129, 130, 137, 174, 190, 193
Gysel, Dean ..... 168

H

Haas, Jeff ..... 120
Haddad, James ..... 82
Haley, Judge Harold J ..... 92
Hall, Gus ..... 147, 148, 194
Hall, Joan Silverstone ..... 185
Hampton, Bill ..... 59
Hampton, Fred ..... 87, 91, 104, 111, 197
"Handbook for Americans" (SISS publication) ..... 108, 144, 147
Handler, Elyne ..... 105, 173
Hanoi ..... 173
Hanrahan, Edward V ..... 104, 168, 173
Harano, Ross ..... 105, 173, 177
Harrington, Cong. Michael ..... 183
Harrisburg, Pa ..... 94
Harrison 6 ..... 89
Hart, Pearl ..... 59, 147, 194
Harvard University ..... 64
Havighurst, Robert J ..... 151
Hazelkorn, Herbert N ..... 105, 171, 173, 174, 177, 188, 189
Hayden, Thomas ..... 55, 56
Haynesworth, Judge ..... 87, 104
Healey, Dorothy ..... 144
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of (HEW) ..... 198
Help for Imprisoned War Objectors ..... 96
Herrs, Walter ..... 105, 173
Herst, Esther ..... 118, 123, 125
Hicks, Doris ..... 83
Hill, Rev. John J ..... 59, 69, 79, 82, 83, 87, 105, 110, 117–125, 130, 135, 136, 146–148, 168, 171–173, 188, 189, 194, 200

Hilton, Jesse ..... 195
Hirschkop, Philip J ..... 167
Hoffman, Abbott ..... 56
Hoffman, Joan ..... 82, 83, 87, 105, 173, 177, 185
Hoffman, Judge ..... 56
Hoffmans, Edward C ..... 98
Hogan, Rev. William ..... 195
Holmes, Lola Belle ..... 145
Honore, Tom ..... 113
Honore, Mrs. Tom (Jan) ..... 113
Horsley, G. William ..... 90, 186
House Internal Security Committee (HISC) ..... 59, 114, 115, 119, 125, 144, 148, 157, 158, 173, 175, 180, 186
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) ..... 116, 143–147, 157, 169
Howard, Robert ..... 83, 172
Hoy, James ..... 197
Hull House Uptown Center ..... 83
Humanist Church (Oakland) ..... 107, 147, 168
Hume Clement Hume & Lee ..... 82
"Hundreds at Midwest Tribute to Gus Hall" (article) ..... 59, 194
Hurley, Marian ..... 82, 83
Huston, John ..... 65, 75, 191
Hutchenson, Irene ..... 83
Hyde Park-Kenwood Council of Churches & Synagogues ..... 185
Hyde Park Peace Council ..... 174
Hyde Park Union Church ..... 96

I

Iavarone, Nicholas ..... 79
Ichord, Rep. Richard ..... 158
Illinois Committee for a Fair Ballot ..... 200
Illinois Crime Investigating Commission ..... 187
Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (ILEC) ..... 69, 80–82, 120, 126, 127, 132, 133
Illinois Prisons and Jails Project ..... 69
Imbrie, James ..... 167
Immigration and Naturalization Service ..... 75
Impeach Nixon Committee ..... 125
Independent Precinct Organization ..... 91
Independent Union of Public Aid Employees ..... 200
Independent Voters of Illinois ..... 91, 168
Indians for Indians ..... 82
Internal Revenue Service ..... 187
International Affairs Commission ..... 180
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) ..... 181
IPJP's Citizens Visiting Committee ..... 75

J

Jackson, George ..... 92
Jackson, Jonathan ..... 92, 93
Jackson Prison ..... 97
Jackson, Justice Robert H ..... 94
Jacoby, Julie ..... 172
Japanese American Citizens League ..... 70, 105, 177, 200
Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago ..... 70
Jesuit School of Theology of Chicago ..... 70
Johnson, Arnold ..... 59, 147, 157, 171, 194
Johnson, Mrs. Christine ..... 59
Johnson, Jim ..... 121
Johnson, Marlin ..... 119, 126
Johnston, Robert ..... 178
Joliet Correctional Center ..... 75
Jones, Nick ..... 195
Jones, Robert ..... 195
Jones, Virginia ..... 195
Jurras ..... 198
Justice Department ..... 47, 75, 123, 127

## K

KAM Isaiah Israel Congregation ..... 70, 174
Kanno, Hiroshi ..... 200
Kashtan, William ..... 195
Katroscik, Margaret Ann ..... 98
Kearney, John ..... 69, 146–148, 151, 186, 193, 200
Kelley, Jon ..... 105, 173
Kennedy, Jane ..... 96, 97
Kennedy, Philip ..... 97
Kennedy, Robert ..... 185
Kentucky, University of ..... 96
Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) ..... 174
Kerner, Otto ..... 114
Kestenbaum, Joe ..... 118
Khrushchev, Nikita ..... 143
King, Leo ..... 83
King, Mrs. Martin Luther, Jr ..... 198
Kirkpatrick, Lyman B ..... 42
Kling, Jack ..... 59, 147, 195
Klink, Val R ..... 76, 83, 105, 119, 122, 125, 168, 172, 173, 177, 200
Klu Klux Klan ..... 48
Knowles, Harper L ..... 146
Knox, Terrance ..... 78, 79
Kreml ..... 91
Kunstler, William ..... 56, 123
Kushner, Sylvia ..... 83, 105, 147, 143, 168, 173, 177, 178, 180, 183, 193, 195

## L

Labor Saving Device ..... 194
Lagoni, Hans ..... 174
Lake View Citizens Council ..... 130
Laronge, George ..... 83
Latin-American Defense Organization ..... 195
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) ..... 47, 69, 79, 80, 121, 123, 124, 127, 132, 135, 136, 172
Lawndale Peoples Planning and Action Committee ..... 177
Conference ..... 87, 186
Lawrence, Rev. Dick ..... 83
Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law ..... 83, 118
Legislative Task Force ..... 177
Lehmann, Dr. Paul ..... 150
Lenin ..... 169
Lens, Sidney ..... 200
Lewis, John ..... 167
Lightfoot, Claude ..... 59, 147, 171, 194, 195
Lincoln Park ..... 90
Lindsay, Sgt. Arthur ..... 82
Lindsay, John V ..... 109
Lipschutz, Peggy ..... 195
Loll, John ..... 98
Loop College ..... 65, 191
Lopez, Obed ..... 195
Los Angeles ..... 92, 93, 144
Loyola University ..... 91, 96, 178
Lucas, George ..... 120, 122
Lundgren, Lee ..... 170
Lundy, Joseph ..... 64, 190
Lutheran Church in America, Illinois Synod ..... 70
Lynch, Judge William ..... 62, 64, 190

## Mc

McArdle, Judith (Judi) ..... 65, 82, 83, 105, 174, 177
McCarthy, Senator Joseph ..... 95, 102, 103
McClory, Congressman ..... 175

McDaniels, Floyd ..... 197
McDonald, Congressman Larry ..... 180
McGrath, Rev. Francis J. (Frank) ..... 58, 69, 78, 125, 146–148, 151, 172, 174, 189, 192
McKenzie, Mrs. ..... 123
McNamara, Marty ..... 97
McNeil, E. Duke ..... 83
McWhinney, William ..... 78, 79

M

MacDougall, Curtis D ..... 151, 200
Mack, Dan ..... 195
Magee, Ruchell ..... 92
Maiman, Max ..... 59
Mandel Legal Aid Clinic ..... 83
Maoists ..... 42
Marco, Joyce ..... 78, 174
Marion County Courthouse ..... 92, 93
Marion County Jail ..... 97
Martin, David ..... 41
Marx ..... 169
Mattachine Midwest ..... 70, 134, 177
Mayday ..... 187
Meade, David (Dave) ..... 86, 105, 174, 177
Media repression task force ..... 177
Medical Committee for Human Rights ..... 134, 195
Meiklejohn, Alexander ..... 167
Mendelsohn, Rev. Jack ..... 78, 87, 95, 105, 117, 121, 171–174, 177, 185, 189
Menges, Richard (Dick) ..... 78, 105, 173, 174, 177
Menzel, Rev. John Paul, Jr ..... 168
Metcalfe, Congressman Ralph ..... 64, 76, 121, 124, 175, 190
Methodist Federation for Social Action (MFSA) ..... 106–108, 147, 168, 192, 193
Mettling, Fran ..... 123, 134
Meyer(s), Mike ..... 118, 122
Michigan ..... 59, 147
Midland Hotel ..... 59, 194
Midland, Mich ..... 97
Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ..... 145
Mikva, Congressman Abner ..... 116, 175, 178, 186
Mills, Congressman Wilbur ..... 175
Milwaukee task force ..... 124
Milwaukee, Wis ..... 124
Minnesota ..... 59, 147
Minnesota Eight ..... 99
Mitchell, Charlene ..... 170, 171
Mitchell, John ..... 116, 157, 159, 160, 199
Moore, Donald Page ..... 121
Morris, Dan ..... 83
Morris, Robert S ..... 167
Mott, Judge ..... 90
Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) ..... 180
Mueller, Rev. Robert ..... 90, 105, 171, 173, 177, 188
Mulligan, Joe ..... 98
Mumm, Helen ..... 174, 189
Munoz, Amando ..... 150
Murphy, Morgan ..... 120
Murphy, Morgan ..... 119
Murtagh, Judge ..... 199
Muse, Charlie ..... 98
Musengo, Jeanette ..... 174
Myerson, Michael ..... 171

N

Nader's Raiders ..... 64, 190
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders ..... 46
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) ..... 181

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)--- 198
National Association of Social Workers---------- 70, 105, 134, 174, 177, 186
National Catholic Reporter---------- 97
National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the House Internal Security Committee---- 57, 68, 143, 144, 167, 169
National Committee Against Repressive Legislation---------- 57, 58, 68, 107, 112, 117, 143–146, 167, 173, 192, 193
Officers (list)---------- 167
National Conference in Solidarity With Chile (2d)---------- 180
List of sponsors---------- 181–185
National Coordinating Center in Solidarity With Chile---------- 180
National Council of Jewish Women---------- 70, 176
Evanston-Niles Township section---------- 70, 134
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice---------- 47
National Lawyers Guild (NLG)---------- 42, 83, 120, 181
Near No. Unitarian Universalist Fellowship---------- 134
Nelson, Carl---------- 145, 169
Nelson, Rev. Clarence T. R---------- 168
Nelson, Ronald---------- 197
New American Movement---------- 181, 201
New Mobilization Committee---------- 200
New Mobilization to End War in Vietnam---------- 157
New Orleans---------- 45
New York City---------- 92, 144
Newhouse, Richard---------- 201
Newsweek (magazine)---------- 64, 190
Nixon administration---------- 114, 120, 199
Nixon, Richard---------- 104, 114, 116, 123, 125, 160, 194, 195
Nolan, Thomas F---------- 197
Noren, Adelle---------- 41, 64, 72, 77, 78, 135, 174
Testimony of---------- 106, 131
North Side Friends---------- 70, 134
Northern California Committee Against Repressive Legislation---- 107, 147, 168
Northern Illinois Conference Board of Social Concerns---------- 121
Northwestern University---------- 91, 104
Law School---------- 200
Nuccio, Richard---------- 197

O

Oak Park-River Forest Citizens Committee for Human Rights------ 105, 134, 177
Obenhaus, Rev. Victory---------- 151
O'Connor, Harvey---------- 167
Ogilvie, Governor---------- 173
O'Malley, Rev. Patrick---------- 105, 174, 177
"Operation Abolition" (film)---------- 144
Operation Push---------- 75, 129, 201
Organization for a Better Austin---------- 75, 130
Osgood, James---------- 177

P

Palm, Gary---------- 83
Palmer, Margaret---------- 59
Pappademos, John---------- 59
Parsons, Judge---------- 200
Passport Office---------- 114
Patten, Rev. C. Alfred---------- 123, 134
Patterson, Louise Thompson---------- 147, 194, 195
Patterson, William L---------- 59, 147, 194, 195
Peace Corps---------- 64, 190
Peace Council---------- 168
Pearson, Theodore (Ted)---------- 59, 194, 200
Peet, Rev. Edward L---------- 167, 168, 193
Pennsylvania, University of---------- 96
Pentagon ---------- 178

People's Party ..... 181
Percy, Senator Charles ..... 65, 190, 195
Perez, Santos ..... 174, 189
Perry, Judge Sam ..... 62, 80
Phillips, John ..... 98
Phillips, Lawrence ..... 174
Pickett, Clarence ..... 167
Pietra, John ..... 98
Plank, Betty ..... 87, 105, 110, 113, 135, 173, 188, 189
Playboy Foundation ..... 69
Poindexter, Thomas ..... 91, 185, 186
Poinian, Dr ..... 123
Pointer, Howard ..... 75, 129
"Points of Rebellion" (book) ..... 153
Police agencies (29) represented at New Orleans meeting (list) ..... 46
Police beat program ..... 71, 72
Police and Community Relations Project ..... 134
"Police Kept Spying After Rochford Ban" (article) ..... 79
Politics for Peace ..... 105, 133, 171, 177, 186
Pontiac Four ..... 99
Popular Unity Coalition ..... 180
Powers, Mary ..... 78, 82, 83, 105, 123, 124, 134, 173, 174, 177, 189
Prompt Press ..... 180
Prosten, Jesse ..... 58, 68, 146–148, 151, 193
Puerto Rican Socialist Party ..... 181

Q

Quigley, Harold ..... 93, 105, 172, 174, 177
Quinn, Frank ..... 78, 174
Quint, Linda ..... 98

R

Rahm, Robert ..... 197
Railsback, Congressman ..... 175
Rankin, Mary Alice ..... 75
"Racism and Human Survival: Lessons of Nazi Germany for Today's World" (book) ..... 59
Rayner, A. A., Jr. (Sammy) ..... 59, 194, 198, 200
Rayson, Leland ..... 74, 75
Reagan, Ronald ..... 92, 93, 194
Red Squad (*See* Chicago Police Department.)
Redmond, Dr. James W ..... 187
Reid, Ellis ..... 83
"Report Fire Faked to Hide Cop Spy Files" (article) ..... 61, 62
Richardson, Amadeo ..... 181
Richardson, Noma ..... 175
Riddell, Nicholas ..... 98
Rising Up Angry ..... 125
Ristorucci, Roque ..... 181, 194
Robinson, Renault ..... 117, 119–122, 126, 173
Robson, Judge Edwin ..... 87, 98, 111, 199
Rocacz, John ..... 82
Rochford, James M ..... 41, 43, 63, 79, 124, 174, 175, 201
Testimony of ..... 45–51
Rogers, Harold ..... 59
Rokacz, John ..... 83
Roosevelt ..... 120
Rosary College ..... 177
Rose, Don ..... 119
Rosen, Frank ..... 178
Rosenbergs ..... 95
Ross, Borris ..... 58, 68
Rossen, John ..... 146, 169
Roth, Norman ..... 59, 168, 178

Royko, Mike ..... 61
Rubin, Jerry ..... 56
Rush, Bobby ..... 119
Rusch, Wayne ..... 82, 83
Russell, Cedric ..... 124, 125, 174, 189
Rutgers University ..... 123
Ryan, Sheila ..... 82, 83

S

Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church ..... 174
Sadlowski, Ed ..... 178
St. Agatha Catholic Church ..... 70, 176
St. Athanasius Catholic Church Community Life Committee ..... 70
St. Columbanus Catholic Church ..... 105
St. Elizabeth Catholic Church ..... 70
St. Frances Cabrini Catholic Church ..... 176
St. James Catholic Church ..... 105
St. James Episcopal Cathedral ..... 100
St. Mark United Methodist Church ..... 70
Salone, Mark ..... 75
Samuel Mem. Community Church ..... 134
San Francisco ..... 92, 93
San Quenton Prison ..... 92
Sandstone Federal Prison ..... 98
Coffeehouse Organizing Committee ..... 99
Sardina, Thomas ..... 87, 177, 186
Satisfield, Anita ..... 194, 195
Scheff, Bruce ..... 168
Schiller, Stephen ..... 83
Schoenbrun, David ..... 186
Schulte, Betty ..... 76, 175
Schwartz, Herman ..... 116
SCOPE (Southwest Community Organization for Peaceful Equality) ..... 70
Scott, Senator William L ..... 41–142
Seale, Bobby ..... 194
Sears, Barnabus ..... 111
Secret Service ..... 187
Seng, Sister Ann ..... 91, 177, 186
Shapiro, William ..... 105, 172, 173
Sheppard, Linda ..... 200
Shirer, William L ..... 154
Short, Robert J ..... 41
Shure (South Suburban Human Relations Federation) ..... 70, 174
Sibrie, Rev. Roland ..... 174
Sikes, Rev. George ..... 174
Sisters of Charity, B.V.M ..... 70, 174
Smit, Tom ..... 98
Smith, Betty ..... 59, 147, 195
Smith, Rev. Harold "Bill" ..... 106
Smith, Louise Pettibone ..... 150
Sobell, Morton ..... 95
"Social Questions Bulletin" (publication) ..... 106, 107, 147, 168
Socialist Party ..... 181
Socialist Workers Party ..... 42, 127, 141, 148, 149, 200, 201
Soledad Brothers ..... 92, 93
Soledad Prison ..... 92, 93
Solon, Mark ..... 130
Sons & Brothers ..... 99
Soto, John ..... 197
Soto, Michael ..... 197
Sourwine, J. G ..... 41–142
Southwest Committee on Peaceful Equality ..... 132
Soviet Union ..... 57, 58, 143
Spiegel, Jack ..... 181
Spock, Dr. Benjamin ..... 94, 185

Stalin, Joseph ---- 143
Statesville Eleven ---- 201
Stein, Ted ---- 200
Steinberg, Irving ---- 59
Stevenson, Senator Adlai ---- 65, 114, 185, 190, 195
Stewart, Jofree ---- 125
Stinnette, Lynn ---- 59, 147, 195
Stone, Mike ---- 96
Stracke, Wynn ---- 195
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) ---- 47, 157, 187
Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) ---- 57, 92, 103, 114, 116, 118, 145, 159
Surge ---- 201
Sweeney, William P ---- 98
Sweigert, Judge ---- 200
Sykes, George ---- 78

T

Tarabochia, A. L ---- 41
Task force on jury reform ---- 177
Task force on political trials ---- 93
Task force on surveillance ---- 104
Taylor, G. Flint, Jr ---- 80
Taylor, James ---- 82, 83
Tecza, Thaddeus ---- 72, 73
Tenth Congressional District Politics for Peace ---- 70, 174
Terkel, Studs ---- 200, 201
Terry, Bobbylee ---- 59
Terry, Gil ---- 59
Third Unitarian Church of Chicago ---- 70, 134, 174
Thurmond, Senator Strom ---- 41–142
Time (magazine) ---- 150
Toll, Carolyn ---- 65, 191
Tomaczek, Starr ---- 82
Toman, Dr. Andrew J ---- 104
Tomczak, Starr ---- 83
Tracy, Jackie ---- 123
Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) ---- 181
Tribute to Patterson Draws a Wide Array (article) ---- 194
Trost, Tom ---- 97
Trotskyists ---- 42
Trujillo, Robert ---- 171
Turkington, Harry ---- 83
Tydings, Senator ---- 199

U

United Auto Workers ---- 178
United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers ---- 181
United Electrical Workers ---- 59, 147, 195
United Farmworkers ---- 195
United Front of Cairo ---- 105, 177
United Methodist Board of Social Concerns ---- 70, 105, 134, 174, 177
United Methodist Church ---- 69, 107, 123
Northern Illinois Conference ---- 118
Board of Church and Society ---- 106, 123–126, 134, 135
Board of Social Concerns ---- 106
United Packinghouse Workers of America ---- 170
United States ---- 107, 143, 146, 195
Army ---- 198
Court of Appeals ---- 98
District Attorney (Northern District of Illinois) ---- 54, 55
Government ---- 44, 45, 95
Supreme Court ---- 56, 95, 103, 104, 114, 199
Uphaus, Dr. Willard ---- 150
Uppling, Byron ---- 197

Urban Apostolate of the Sisters ..... 70
Urban crisis program of the National Association of Social Workers ..... 87
Urban League of Greater Boston ..... 185

V

Velasquez, Garmon ..... 83
Venceremos Brigade ..... 66, 77, 181
3d ..... 66
Vietnam ..... 186
North ..... 118, 173
Vincent, Walter S ..... 167
Vivian, Rev. C. T ..... 167
Vrooman, Gates ..... 121

W

Wachowski, Chief Justice Eugene ..... 88
Waitsman, Myke ..... 86
Walker, Dan ..... 173
Walker, Paul ..... 125
Ward, Judge ..... 90
Warden, Rob ..... 61–64, 75, 77–79, 130, 137, 190
Ware, Mitchell ..... 41, 138
Testimony of ..... 52–56
Warren, Justice Earl ..... 153
Washington, D.C ..... 123, 140, 169, 187, 198
Washington Post (newspaper) ..... 64, 190
Watergate ..... 125, 187, 188
Watts, St. John, Jr ..... 122
WBBM (television and radio station) ..... 64, 120
WDHF (radio station) ..... 136
Weatherman ..... 198
Weiboldt Foundation ..... 88
Weiner, Lee ..... 56
Weinglass, Leonard ..... 56
Weinstein, Rabbi J ..... 151
Weiss, Mark ..... 72, 73
Wellington Avenue Congregational Church ..... 105, 134, 171, 177
Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ ..... 70, 174
Wells, Ruth ..... 65, 69, 120, 122–124, 126, 130
West, James ..... 181
West Side Christian Parish ..... 70, 90, 105, 134, 171, 177
Westermeyer, Jerald (Jerry) ..... 82, 83
WGN (television station) ..... 64
Wheadon United Methodist Church (Evanston) ..... 70
White House ..... 187
Wickstrom, Lester ..... 195
Wieboldt ..... 122
Wieboldt Foundation ..... 69
Wilford, Ruby ..... 174
Wilkinson, Frank ..... 120, 144, 145, 150, 167, 193
Will, Judge ..... 200
Willey, Dorothy ..... 89
Williams, Aubrey W ..... 167
Williams, Carter ..... 200
Williams, David ..... 97
Williams, Edna ..... 105, 174, 177
Wilmette Human Relations Committee ..... 70, 105, 134
Wilson, Charles ..... 59
Winnetka Human Relations Committee ..... 70, 105, 134, 174, 177
Winston, Henry ..... 59, 147, 194
Winter, Helen ..... 181
WLS (television station) ..... 64
Wolf, Rabbi Arnold Jacob ..... 151, 200
Wolfson, Warren ..... 79, 80, 82, 83, 133

Women for Peace ---- 201
Women Strike for Peace ---- 198
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom ---- 70, 134
Woodlawn Organization ---- 83, 124, 174
Woods, Sylvia ---- 59, 195
World Peace Council ---- 195
WTTW (television station) ---- 83

Y

Young, Congressman Andrew ---- 185
Young Communist League ---- 146, 170
Young Lords ---- 106, 118
Young, Dr. Quentin ---- 195
Young Socialists Alliance ---- 127, 149, 201
Young Workers Liberation League ---- 59, 147, 194, 195

Z

Zacharias, Bobbette ---- 105, 173, 174, 177
Zacharias, James ---- 82, 83
Zagarell, Michael ---- 170, 171

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